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J. J. Grant

Patna

1st August.

A Present from Jas. Fr. Grant, Esq. 1795.
to D. Grant.

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Continuation of the FIRST VOLUME of the SEÏR MUTAQHERIN,

OR

REVIEW OF MODERN TIMES.

SECTION V.



Contents of the fifth Section.

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rously—deputation sent him—Ingenious and artful message of his to Mustepha-qhan—bold open answer of the latter's—the Afghans attack and carry the intrenchments of Azim-abad, and yet are worsted—the Victory is snatched a second time from the hands of Mustepha-qhan, who is shot through the head—Aali-verdi-qhan marches to succour his Nephew—the Afghans victorious a third time, are worsted again, and Mustepha-qhan is slain—the body of that hero unworthily used.

AALI-VERDI-QHAN having rendered himself master of these Eastern kingdoms, and taken possession of those riches accumulated by Shudjah-qhan and Ser-efraz-qhan, which were reckoned by Corors only, turned his attention towards tranquilising the Country, and establishing his own government. At the same time he received from the presence the titles of Shudjah-el-mulc and Hefsam-ed-döslah, that is, the Valorous of the state, and the Sword of the Empire: was honoured with the brevet of seven thousand horse, and decorated with the insignia of the *Mabi*; and the court seemingly with a view to humour his tenderness for his family, bestowed high honors upon every individual of it: for his younger nephew and Son-in-law, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, whom he had left at Azim-abad, as his Lieutenant, and whom he had now rendered absolute in that Province, was honoured with the brevet of seven thousand horse and the titles of *Vaillant*, *the honor of the Empire*, and *the terrible in war*, together with the *Mabi*, the fringed Paleky, the kettle drum and the standard. His eldest nephew and Son-in-law, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, whom he had appointed governor of the Province of Djehanghir-nagar Dacca, with the annexes of Silhat and Islamabad-chatgam, was now honored with the office of Divan of Bengal, and decorated with the insignia of the *Mabi*, and distinguished with the Sir-names and titles of the *Vaillant* and *of the magnificent of the state*, always *Valorous in war*. His middling nephew Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan, who so early as the times of Shudjah-qhan and Ser-efraz qhan, had enjoyed the Fodjdary of Rangpoor, where he had acquired great riches; was decorated with the same rank and dignities,

Grand distribution of rewards at the court of M8r-ah8dabad.

as his brothers, with the Surnames and titles of *Performer of the Empire, and the impetuous in war*: to all which was added a promise of the reversion of the Province of Sressa, whenever it might be recovered from M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, Son-in-law to Shudjah-qhan by a half Sister of Ser-efraz-qhan's: a nobleman, who to the reputation of a man of sense and wit joined the talents of an ingenious Poet, and gloried as much in the title of the *Enthousiasmed* and the *unfettered*, which he bore, as a Poet, as in that of Rostem-djung(1), which he had received as a nobleman of rank and a governor of a great Province. Mirza-mehmed, eldest Son of Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, he adopted for his Son; and he took care to have him bred near his person, after having bestowed upon him the title and Sirname of Seradj-eddö8lah-shah-c8ly-qhan-bahadyr (2), with the office of admiral of Djehan-qhir-nagar Dacca, which he had obtained for him from the presence: and as Nevazish-mahmed-qhan his eldest Son-in-law and nephew had no child of his own, he made him-adopt Mirza-mehmed's younger brother, for whom he procured the surname of Badshah-c8ly-qhan with the title of Ecram-eddö8lah (3): these two brothers were honored each of them with the rank of seven thousand horse, decorated with the dignities and insignia annexed to so high a degree of elevation, and became high and mighty Lords from their very childhood. Ataa-ollah-qhan, younger Son-in-law to Hadji-ahmed a nobleman, who on Aali-verdi-qhan's being appointed to the Lieutenancy of Azim-abad, had succeeded him in the Fodjdary of Acbar-nagar-radje-mahl, so early as the times of Shudjah-qhan and Ser-efraz-qhan, was now advanced to the Fodjdary of Bagal-p8r, promoted to a Brigade of three thousand horse, and foot, honored with the

(1) The Hercules in battles,

(2) The Valliant Lord, Soldier of the Emperor, and flambeau of his Empire. The office of Admiral of Dacca, consisted in building and fitting a fleet of large vessels and galleys, some of them as big as the biggest galleys in Europe, and sending them to Dehli. His expenditure was assigned upon eighty villages about Dacca, rated at 40,000 rupees, but which in process of time yielded above three lacs.

(3) The words of *Badshah-c8ly-qhan* are of the same import as those of *Shah-c8li-qhan*; but *Ecram-ed-dö8lah* signifies the honor of the Empire,

degree of seven thousand horse, and decorated with several insignia, as well as the pompous titles and founding Surnames of the *honored of the Empire, the immoveable in a day of battle*. Hufséin-c8ly-qhan, Nàib or Deputy to Nevazish-mahamed-qhan, was honored with the rank of three thousand horse, to which was added the distinction of a standard and a kettle drum, and the Sirname of Bahadyr or valliant. Ataa-yar-qhan, half brother to Aali-verdi-qhan, and Fakyr-ollah-qhan, as well as N8r-8llah-beg-qhan and Mir-Djaaffer-qhan, and Mustepha-qhan, with several other persons, whether relations, friends, or officers of consequence, were every one of them honored with distinctions, advanced to dignities and officers, or promoted to commands. Chéin-räy agent to the Rày-ràyan-aalem-chund, Divan, or minister to the late Shudjah-qhan, was himself honored with the title of Rày-ryan, and appointed Divan to Aali-verdi-qhan; and Radja Djanki-ram, who was an antient Divan of his, was appointed Divan of the bodies or musters, and comptroller of the registers. It was in contemplation to bestow the rank of three thousand horse, and the title of Bahadyr with the Paymaster-ship general, on Abdal-aaly-qhan, my uncle, who was also a cousin-german to Aali-verdi-qhan, in the same manner as they had been enjoyed by that officer's father Sëyd-zin-el-aabedin, my maternal grand father, who was son to Aali-verdi-qhan's aunt: but that nobleman, who expected to be promoted on an equal footing with the other nephews of Aali-verdi-qhan, being displeased at the superiority given them, quitted the court in disgust, and obtained leave to repair to Azim-abad where in fact he returned. Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, who governed there, thinking himself honored by his arrival, gave him the government of Turhut in addition to the Collector-ship of Bahar and Besoc, which he enjoyed already; desiring him moreover to live at his court as his friend. Abdol-aali-qhan having absented himself for reasons of his own from the court of M8rsh8dabad, the office of Pay master general which was intended for that Nobleman, was bestowed on my Aunt's husband, Nufret-aaly-qhan, and the

second

Second Paymaster-ship was bestowed on Fakir Ollah-beg-qhan Bahadyr, who was one of the persons most attached to Aali-verdi-qhan. This prince having now disposed of those many offices and honors according to the dictates of his gratitude and wisdom, sent the Coror of Rupees and the Pish-kush, or present in money which he had promised to the Emperor. It consisted of money and precious goods, and was accepted by the mediation of Issac-qhan, minister of state. As to the confiscated property of Ser-effraz-qhan's, he set a part as much of it as he thought proper for the Emperor's use; but hearing that M8rid-qhan the valiant, a Lord of the second rank in the Emperor's Court, had been sent from the capital for the double purpose of taking the possession of Ser-effraz-qhan's estate, and receiving the Revenue of Bengal which had been arreared since that Viceroy's sitting upon the Mesned; he wrote him a respectful letter to request his taking some repose at Azimabad, as he was himself setting out for Radj-mahal with intention to meet him at Sacry-gally (4), where he would not fail to deliver into his excellency's hands, both Ser-effraz-qhan's estate and the balance due on the Revenue. As this request was calculated to prevent that Nobleman from obtaining entrance into Bengal, Aali-verdi-qhan in the month of Redjeb, set out for Acber-nagar-Radj mahal, where after waiting many days he was met by M8rid-qhan to whom he delivered some lacks of Rupees in money, and seventy lacks in jewels, with much gold and silver furniture, a quantity of precious stuffs, and a number of elephants and horses; all which having passed for the whole of the confiscation, he put a written account of it in that Nobleman's hands, made him a present every way suitable to his rank, and to the occasion, and dismissed him with great honours and many civilities; after which he reviewed his army, being then intent on an expedition against Catec, the capital

(4) Sacry-Gally, or the gullet or lane of Sacry, is a narrow defile with the Ganga on one side, and a chain of woody hills on the other; and such is Talia-garry, which besides has a wall that shuts up the passage from end to end. The former defile may be ten feet broad, and being overhanged by woods, is capable of great defence, and seems to bar the passage from Bahar into Bengal; but the chain of hills that borders it, would, on inspection afford many other passages, and really there are many more. Rhago-dji in 1740 left at his left both those defiles, and yet he penetrated with ease into Bengal.

of the *Sressa*, a province which he intended to recover from *M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan*, its actual owner.

For *Alli-verdi-qhan* was now firmly seated in his government: he had arranged and settled every branch of the administration; and being now easy on that head, he had prepared an army of victorious troops, and a train of artillery furnished with every thing requisite for conquests, after having all this time made it his business to obtain a previous knowledge of the talents and turn of mind of his intended adversary. But *M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan* who did not think himself a match for such an enemy, sent one *Aga-Mahmed-taky* of *Surat*, to probe *Aali-verdi-qhan's* designs, and to manage a treaty with him; and this end was soon obtained, both from a regard to the acquaintance that had once subsisted between the two contractants; and also out of compliment to the envoy's talent, who behaved with great abilities and was dismissed with honour and distinction. However these good beginnings were soon marred by the intrigues of *Mirza-bakyr-qhan*, a nobleman who drew his pedigree from the royal race of the *Sefis* of *Iran* (5), and was now son-in-law to *M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan*, whose consort also joined her son-in-law in pointing out to him the rich prize of *Bengal* (a conquest indeed to which he was far from being equal) and the propriety of shewing a becoming resentment against *Ser-effraz-qhan's* murderer. These two incensed persons leagued together, found means to manage so well, as that the treaty now almost concluded, was put an end to; although *M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan* himself had set his heart upon it. *Aali-verdi-qhan* being informed of this alteration in his mind, wrote him word " that he had not in his " heart any inclination to offer that illustrious governor any injury, or to bring " him to any harm; but however that his staying any longer at *Catec* would be " far from conducing to the quiet of either party: he therefore hoped that his " excellency would find it expedient to withdraw his person, family, and effects,

(5) The kings of Persia or Iran are called *Sophis* by the Turks from *Sheh-Haider*, the founder of that Dynasty, who pretending to be only a Dervish or Fakir, idest, a religious man, wore only *Sof*, or camblet. But the Dynasty however took the name of *Sefis* from *Shah Sefi* his descendant and the first who assumed the title of *Shah* or Emperor or King, and made conquests.

“ and to repair with them into Hindostan, by taking his journey through M8r-
 “ sh8dabad; unless indeed he should find it more eligible to go at once from
 “ Catec to the neighbouring country of Decan.” Such a message with any
 other man might have brought on an immediate rupture; but the Viceroy of
 Catec who dreaded the military talents, as well as the superior forces, of his ad-
 versary, was inclined to put an end to all his uneasiness by giving up the contest;
 and he had probably effected his purpose, had not his spirits been raised, and
 his self love interested, by the repeated suggestions of his son-in-law, who
 being high spirited, would not bear such haughty language, and was besides
 spurred on by the prospect of once commanding in such a country as Bengal.
 These sentiments of resentment and ambition were strongly supported by the
 Viceroy’s consort, a high spirited Princess, who joining reproaches to entrea-
 ties, was eternally teizing him on the infamy of suffering her brother’s mur-
 derer to enjoy quietly both impunity and dominion. This Princess, who was
 much more respected in the province than her husband himself, proceeded from
 intreaties to threats, and she talked of no less than of abandoning so tame a
 husband, and making over her riches, influence, and pretensions, to her son-in-
 law, together with the province itself: a young man of a temper equally ar-
 dent and intriguing, whom she found perfectly fitted by nature for seconding
 her hatred to Aali-verdi-qhan. The Viceroy overcome by the animated in-
 stigations of those two persons, altered his mind, and he sent word to his neigh-
 bour in Bengal, that he disavowed the preliminaries consented to against his
 will by his agent; and that the sword only would determine their respective
 pretensions. The latter fully sensible that nothing was now to be obtained but
 by war, took his measures accordingly: he recommended the government of
 Bengal, and the care of the city to both his brother, Hadji-ahmed, and to his
 nephew; and having reviewed his army, which amounted to ten or twelve
 thousand picked troops, he spied in the After a favorable moment for quit-
 ting the city, and set out for the Sreffa.

Aali-verdi-
 qhan marches to
 the conquest of
 the Sreffa.

SUCH

SUCH a piece of intelligence was soon conveyed to the court of Catec: and M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, now resolved on war, thought it proper to sound the minds of those about his person. Having assembled his friends and the principal officers of his army, he made his appearance in the hall, and remained silent for a while; taking then his sabre from his own side, he laid it in the middle of the assembly, and after having represented in lively colours, the crime committed by Aali-verdi-qhan, he reflected on that insatiable ambition of his, which, not contented with impunity, aspired also to despoil the murdered Prince's sister of what little she had left, and talked of nothing but war and of sacrificing every one to his own views. "*My cause being as just, as my case is critical,* added he, *there remains nothing for me now, but to know your own minds on this iniquitous contest. If you are for standing by me, let us set out together and fight together; but if you are of another mind, then for God's sake explain yourselves early and betimes, that I may act accordingly, and provide betimes for my own safety.*" This short address having seemed to be received with approbation, the principal officer of his army, Abed-aali-qhan by name, assured him in the name of the assembly, "That he might rely on their fidelity" and on their detestation of the murderer;" and having pronounced these few words, he stood up with all those present, and taking up the sabre lying on the ground, he girt it round the Viceroy's loins, and assured him of their attachment and zeal." Such a scene having tranquillised the governor's mind, he thought only of preparing himself for the contests. Having mustered his army, and taken his son-in-law with him, he quitted Catec, and advanced towards the frontiers of his country. For this purpose he pushed beyond Baliser-bender, (Balaffor) crossed the river that flows by that town; and having advanced some miles beyond it, he took post in a spot which he judged capable of great defence. This was almost surrounded by a small river with steep lofty banks, that had within sight a country covered with woods and brambles. Not content with the natural strength of his post, he threw up some intrenchments

ments in the least difficult parts, lined the whole with three hundred pieces of artillery, great and small, and gave his encampment such a menacing posture, that it became very dangerous to dislodge him. Such was the state of things, when Aali-verdi-qhan moved from Midnapore, and having advanced towards Balisser-bender, he got a full view of a formidable post, of which he had only some idea from report. His natural daringness was at stand; to attack an enemy so incensed and so well intrenched, was impracticable: To entice him out of that strong post was the surest party; But his situation was now become critical: the Zemindars of the frontiers of Bengal became remiss in forwarding convoys to camp; and the few that would approach it, never failed to be intercepted by the Zemindars or great land-holders of the Sreffa, who seemed to dislike his person, and to look upon his camp, as an inimical ground. Some provisions sent by the Governor of Narain-gur were intercepted likewise; and his sutlers being at a loss how to supply themselves, provisions became very dear, and at last scarce and bad. Such a state of things required only patience in the governor of Sreffa; and it was his intention to let the enemy consume himself. But such a delay was more than could be brooked by his son-in-law, who inflamed by the sight of the enemy, and informed of his distress, wanted absolutely to sally forth and to fall upon him. The Governor made many objections, but he was overborne at last by the impetuosity of Mirza-bakyr; and about the end of Zilcaad in the same year, he quitted his strong post, and advanced towards the enemy. This was precisely what Aali-verdi-qhan had wished; and a blunder having been this very moment committed by the enemy, he availed himself of it to the utmost. Mirza-Bakyr, in pushing blindly forwards, had degarnished that part of his retrenchment, where was posted the greatest part of his artillery; and this having been soon perceived by the enemy, Aali-verdi-qhan sent a party of troops, who pushed on a gallop, and seized the whole of it. The engagement commenced of course, and it was continued with musquetry and rockets: vast numbers of brave men were falling on both

Battle of Ba
laffo.

sides; and yet the action bore a doubtful aspect, M8rñ8d-c8li-qhan standing his ground bravely. In this critical moment that same Abed-qhan, who had cut so conspicuous a figure in the assembly at Catec, and owed his fortune to his governor, but had too much Afghan blood in his veins not to long after some signal perfidy; Abed-qhan, I say, was seen to move from his post. He had already made his bargain with the famous Mustepha-qhan, who was his countryman, and a favourite general of the enemy's. The perfide Abed-qhan having advanced, as to an attack, with his whole corps, struck to the left where he perceived the signal agreed to; and having ranged his whole brigade close to Mustepha-qhan, he stood stock-still, like one that should have come to see the fight as a common spectator. But even this defection did not appale M8rñ8d-c8li-qhan: his troops stood their ground, and he seemed to be every where, being followed by a body of Sëyds of Barr, long ago attached to his person, and who being desirous to shew their zeal, as well as jealous of their national character (6), advanced the feat of daringness, and made so vigorous an attack, that the enemy unable to stand their impetuosity, commenced giving way; and even some of the Bengal troops fled openly: the moment was come when Aali-verdi-qhan was to forfeit his character (7) and to be covered with eternal disgrace. Luckily for him that Mirza-bakyr having just quitted his post at the right, and attacked the left wing of the enemies, which he threw into so much disorder, that the troops were actually giving way; was himself disordered by his very attack, this wing was composed of the flower of the enemy's army: Mir-djaafer-qhan, who commanded there, seeing how matters went, jumped down from his horse, and putting himself at the head of a strong body, he advanced to the assistance of the discomfited troops,

(6) Barr is a town and district to the North-east of Dehly, and wholly inhabited by Sëyds (just as Shehp8ra in Bahar is inhabited by only Shehs); but these Sëyds, who pass proverbially for so many block-heads, are likewise known for being remarkably brave; and there are several such towns and districts in Hindostan, reputed brave nationally: such are the Sheh-zadians of Lucknow, and the citizens of Belgram.

(7) His consort fled at two miles from the field of battle upon her Elephant; and this animal was followed by that which mounted Aali-verdi-qhan himself, whether he would or not.

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in the ship seeing on land a great concourse of people, sent their *fenefs* to inquire after M8rsh8d-c8li-qhan's affairs, without suspecting all this while that their owner had been in the battle. This sight of the *fenefs* intirely altered the ideas of both the Governor, and the ship's owner. The latter pointed to the vessel with the finger, and after a pause, he observed, that the sending down such a vessel *looked very much like a special interposition of Providence in their behalf*. In an instant the governor was of his opinion; and without consulting any one, or giving the smallest hint of his design to any one of the by-standers, he proposed to go on board as on a party of pleasure, and only to see a ship; and without taking any thing with him, he carried his son-in-law, and a few of the most necessary servants, and getting into the fenefs, he reached the ship, which immediately drew up her anchor and made sail: in six days more she reached Machli-bender (Masulipatam.)

M8rshood-c8-
ly-qhan van-
quished, flies to
Masulipatam.

BUT the Governor's anxieties soon returned upon him: he had left behind his whole family, his consort, and his riches, which last had been hoarded from long hand, and now amounted to a vast sum; and this thought, but espically that of his consort and children, were enough to distract his mind. He therefore sent his son in-law towards Sicacol and Ganjam, which are on the frontiers of the 8ressa, to try what could be done, as those towns have a great intercourse with Catec. But providence which watched over that forlorn family, had already fuscited a saviour for it; and this was the Radja or Prince of Ratip8r, who is also Lord of Djagennat, a famous place of resort and Pilgrimages from all India, and where the diversity of clans so remarkable amongst Gentoos, and the shyness from each other which it produces, ceases at once by an ancient law, to make place for a mutual intercourse deemed obligatory, in a sacred place held in the highest veneration (8) This Gentoo Prince, who was a particular friend

(E) It is well known that the Gentoos not only abstain rigorously from what victuals have been prepared by an European, and also from his cloaths, water and utensils, and even house, but also, that they have the same shyness amongst the several clans themselves; but all that is over, the moment they are at Djagennat or even with in sight of the Ox of Granite, which issues out of the steeple; there Gentoos eat in common with Musulmen and (a mighty wonder!) victuals ready dressed are carried about in the streets.

where Musahab-qhan, as well as Dilir-qhan, and Affalet-qhan, both Afghans, and both intrepid sons of the valorous Umer-qhan, were making a stand. Mir-djaaser exerted himself so manfully in that trying moment, that he on that day acquired a high character for military conduct and soldier like prowess. The combat became warm and bloody; and Mir-muhabbet-aaly, with Mir-acber-aaly, the two commanders of the Sēyds, having received several mortal wounds, which made them drink to the very dregs the cup of bitter potion presented them by inexorable fate, whilst Mirza-bakyr himself was receiving several dangerous wounds on the neck, head-and breast; their troops were appaled and gave way. Mirza-bakyr, unable to support himself, was carried out of the field; and the troops being deprived of such valorous commanders, took fright, dispersed, and fought only how to escape the slaughter. M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, finding now that fortune had turned her back upon him, thought only how to secure a retreat; and taking his wounded son-in-law in a Paleky, he turned towards Balisser-bender in which he took shelter with about three thousand men that still stood by him. Not that he expected any thing from that handfull: he was only intent on giving them the slip: under pretence that he intended to intrench himself there, he marched them out of the town, where he threw up some earth on the out skirts of it; and turning at the same time towards the river, he alighted from his Elephant, as if intending to take some refreshment. There happened to be then in the river, but close to the shore, a ship ready to sail, which belonged to an ancient friend, and ancient companion of his, being a native of S8ret-bender (Surat) as well as himself. This friend had this long while enriched himself by fitting out vessels for several parts of India; and he was just close by him; and the ship full of goods and grain, was unfurling her sails. Hadji-mahsen had fought by his side, and had his full share of the perils of the day. Now it must be observed that ships have always a vessel called a fenefs (*Pinnace*) (this is the young one of a ship) and this serves for the purpose of going a shore; so that the people

in

of M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, seemed to be an exception to the general run of mankind, as if he had gloried in being one of those few, who in the adverse fortunes of their benefactors, and friends, remember of former benefits and of former connections and act accordingly. Hearing of the late defeat, and concluding that the victorious would soon become masters of Catec, he sent a number of carriages, and a strong escort, with orders to bring every thing belonging to his friend out of that city. The whole was under the command of Sheh-morad, a trusty officer of his household, who arriving at the nick of time, took with him not only the forlorn family, and the treasures, but even the whole furniture, and every person or servant belonging to the Governor. Setting out without loss of time, he traversed the whole Sreffa, and carried his charge safe to Inchap8r, which is a town and district dependant on Sicacol and Ganjam; and moreover he remained there on his master's part to execute the Prince's commands. By a further good luck, the Governor of the country happened to be Anver-eddin-qhan, who was an acquaintance of M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan, and who received that forlorn family as his guests, and took care to furnish it with every necessary and every conveniency in his power. Bakyr-aaly-qhan arriving a few days after, and finding his consort and wealth unexpectedly arrived and freed from every danger, returned thanks to God Almighty from so signal a delivery. From thence he sent his mother-in-law to her husband, together with her furniture and treasures, and after tarrying a few days to hear from Catec, he returned to his father-in-law; who finding himself in a country that belonged to Nizam-el-mulk, Viceroy of Decan, thought himself happy to have obtained shelter in his dominions, and he made a stay there to recover of his fatigues. But Aali-verdi-qhan did not think of repose.

INTENT on availing himself of his success, he pushed on to Catec, where he stayed about a month to bring that country under controul; and this was not a difficult task, as he had lived a long while on those parts in the times of Shudjah-qhan; and had had connections with every one of the Zemindars. He

Aali-verdi-qhan leaves his grand-son in the government of the 8reffa.

now sent for them, and after having spoken kindly to them all, and conferred upon each in particular such favors as he seemed to deserve, he dismissed them contented: sending at the same time for his second son-in-law Säid-ahmed-qhan, he appointed him Governor General of the province, after having made him sit on the Mesned of command in his presence, and put on his shoulders the Qhylaat of that investiture. But as he did not trust altogether to the young officers which Säid-ahmed-qhan had put at the head of his own brigade, he gave the command of it to one of his own veteran officers, called Godjur-qhan, with permission to raise as many more troops as his Governor might think convenient: after all these arrangements, he quitted the 8reffa, and took the road of M8rsh8dabad, the capital of his dominions, where he graced again by his presence, the Mesned of command and sovereignty.

Great respect paid by Aali-verdi-qhan to Ser-efraz-qhan's mother and family.

This time of recess he employed constantly in determining revenue matters, in disciplining and stationing his army, in easing the husbandmen, and obliging every noble, and every plebeian, that had access to his person. He kept under his eyes his nephew Mirza-mahmed, whom he had adopted, as well as his brother yet a child, which he had got adopted by his nephew Nevazish-mahmed-qhan; and he made it a point to have at his court all the principal nobles and the chief men of the country, as well as their principal relations and friends. As to the family of Ser-efraz-qhan, it was recommended to his elder son-in-law, who having obtained Nefissa-Begum's consent, carried her to his palace, where he adopted her for his mother, as she did him for her son; he gave her the whole management of his seraglio, with the absolute command of his inner household. But what is extraordinary, this adoption did not extend to her ever appearing in his presence, or to her ever been so much as seen by him: there always intervened a veil or a curtain between them, even whilst she was rendering him an account of his family, and whilst the expressions of mother and son were continually interchanging. The Princess had even an inspection over his consort, who was daughter

daughter to Aali-verdi-qhan; and her orders were executed without reference to him. She likewise conserved the Qhas-taalooch, or personal demesnes of Djaaser-qhan her father (a tract of ground that yielded a large revenue), with every land or house that had been bought by that Prince in his private capacity: to these Nevafish-mahmed-qhan never offered to touch; and she continued to enjoy them totally: being to the very last used with the utmost respect and deference both by him and by Aali-verdi-qhan himself, neither of whom ever approached her without a profound bow, or ever offered to sit in her presence, without being bid. It happened that one of Ser-efraz-qhan's concubines was delivered of a son, the very day on which he was slain: and he was adopted by Nefessa-begum for her son, soon became an object of much regard for even Nevafish-mahmed-qhan; and care was taken to have him bred with as much attention as if he had been his own son. But as Ser-efraz-qhan had no married consort of his own rank, but only concubines, some of whom had been occasionally admitted to his bed, those that had any children by him were honorably dismissed to Djehan-ghir-nagar-daca, where he settled upon them such noble pensions, as put it in their power not only to live up to their rank, but also to assist others. In short he declared himself the protector of all that had belonged to that unfortunate Prince, to every one of whom he allowed honorable salaries, whether they lived by themselves, or chose to take service with him: making it a point to render every one of them easy in his circumstances, and satisfied with his lot. And really Nevafish-mahmed-qhan's liberality was boundless. For I have heard it from people well informed and worthy of credit, That he spent thirty thousand rupees per month in supporting secretly poor widows, and old decrepit people, exclusively of those that had their names borne on the Divani-registers, and received pensions publickly. The bounties to all these people were every month put in bags in his presence, and respectively forwarded by trusty eunuchs and old women of his household. He was, as we have said Governor of the province of Dacca, with its annexes,

to wit, the Fodjdaries of Silhut and Islamabad, but he lived at court as well as his Nàib or Lieutenant Hufséin-c8ly-qhan; so that the immediate management of those countries, devolved on a Divan of Hufséin-c8ly-qhan's, who was called Ráy-gocul-chund, a man of merit, who discharged that trust much to his credit and honor. At this same time Cassim-aaly-qhan brother to Aali-verdi-qhan's consort, was appointed to the Fodjdary of Rungpore, where he acquired both credit and riches (9). Whilst such an important revolution was taking place in Bengal, Sëif-eddin-aali-qhan, was Fodjdar or rather hereditary Governor of P8rania, to which charge he had been appointed from the presence so early as the times of Djaaser-qhan. This lord, misled by appearances, had for some time taken Aali-verdi-qhan for a rebel; and in expectation of being supported by armies and generals from the capital, he had given out that he was going to march against him, and to punish his rebellion; but finding that he had greatly mistaken the case, and that no notice was taken of his intention, he concluded that such a rumour and such an intention had done him no good: to give therefore the best colouring to his behaviour, he counterfeited the mad man; and it was lucky for him that Aali-verdi-qhan, who paid a great regard to his connections at court, and to Emir-qhan, his brother in particular, did not think it expedient to resent his conduct.

WE have left Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan in the possession of the Government of Azimabad. This new Governor, who was a young man of great merit, and equal in every sense to the honors and the high office he enjoyed, having heard much of my father Sëyd-hedäiet-aaly-qhan, who commanded these many years in several districts of his government, requested his attendance; and after having shewn him every mark of regard and esteem, he offered him the office of Pay-master of the province. " Providence, said he, having bestowed

(9) This nobleman was recalled under Mir-djaaser-qhan's first reign. He had concealed full one coror in his Zenana, some time before he had been put to death, as a near relation of Aali-verdi-qhan's. But Miren, son to Mir-djaaser, no sooner heard of the hoard, than he went himself to the Zenana, took the money away, and moreover deflowered two virgin daughters of the murdered nobleman's.

“ this country and this power, on this your brother (meaning himself) it
 “ becomes us to join our efforts in disciplining the army, and in adjusting the
 “ arrangement of this country together; and it is incumbent upon us
 “ to manage in such a manner, as that we may become an object of
 “ envy to our jealous, and of approbation and exultation to our friends
 “ and patrons:” To these he added many other expressions of kindness
 calculated to promote affection and zeal; and he acted up to his ex-
 pressions, loading my father with honors and favours; so that their union became
 every day closer and closer. That young prince who sought merit where ever
 it could be found, applied also to Aali-verdi-qhan his uncle, for an able mi-
 nister, who had been formerly Divan to himself: it was Rây-chintaman-dass;
 and as soon as he had him, he conferred on him the management of the fi-
 nances of the whole province: nor is so much discernment to surprise in so
 young a man: although in the prime of life, he was endowed with many
 valuable qualifications: resolute and courageous, very sensible in his depart-
 ment, very regular in his transacting business; and very modest and decent in
 his way of life; firm in his command, yet civil; and of so engaging a be-
 haviour as seemed calculated to acquire every one’s love and affection. When
 his uncle quitted Azim-abad on his expedition to Bengal, he had been fol-
 lowed out of affection by several Zemindars of the province, for instance by
 Radja-sunder-sing, the Brahman Zemindar of the district of Mog; and by
 the two Zemindars of Turhut-semâi, who were originally of the Bety-clan,
 and had lately become converts to Musulmanism: all these, after performing
 their part in the expedition, now returned to their home, loaded with favours,
 and rich presents in jewels, horses, and elephants; but so soon as they were
 arrived, they were taken in the young governor’s service, where they became
 objects of his favour and attention, in proportion to the services they had ren-
 dered his uncle. And indeed gratitude, as well as a civility without bounds,
 seemed to be hereditary virtues in that family: for although both the uncle and

M8rsh8d-c8-
 ly-qhan van-
 quished, flies to
 Masulipatam.

the nephew had been suddenly raised to the summit of power and honors, they possessed this last qualification, as well as that of benevolence to so high a degree, that not one of the noblemen, their contemporaries, and not one of the middling sovereigns of those times, can be compared to them. A complete remembrance of every one's service, and a sincere regard to every one's merits, formed a leading feature in their character; nor do I remember to have seen, or to have heard that they had been equalled by any one in my time, or by any one that I could hear mentioned of former times. This young governor in particular was fond of shewing his gratitude: and as his mother and the poor man's mother were daughters of the same maternal uncle, and my mother in some fits of tenderness had often given him of her milk, he made it a point to shew his remembrance of that favor, by shewing me, the poorman, so much regard and attention, as hardly could have been expected from an affectionate real brother. In the middle of so much pomp and power, he was pleased to remember of it, so far, as to associate the poor man's whole family in the cares of Government, that is, in easing the husband man's burthens, rendering justice attentively, and in obliging every one according to his rank. My father, his two brothers, the poor man's unworthy self, and all our relations, partook of his attention and power; and were we or any other, as historian, to launch out in the laudable qualifications, which nature had bestowed on Aali-verdi-qhan, and his three grand sons and nephews; or to hint at the many encomiums which they so richly deserve, our mention would swell into the size of a book, and our sincerity, although so well grounded, would incur suspicion, or be ascribed to interested motives. We shall therefore leave the reader to make his own mind on that subject, by kindly attending to our narrative of the principal events of their administration.

We have left Aali-verdi-qhan, conqueror of the Sreffa, but anxious to return to his capital, and leaving in his new conquest, a young, unexperienced grand son and nephew, to whom he thought he had formed a council of administration.

strange

Valuable character of the members of Aali-verdi-qhan's family.

Strange to say, the young Governor listened to counsels of parcimony and frugality : he undertook to diminish the pay of the troops, and to curtail the salaries and emoluments of all those that had been left near his person, on purpose to insure his personal security, and the well-fare of his government. But such schemes of parcimony could find no favor, and even no acquiescence, with men, who had quitted their friends and homes, in hopes of bettering their fortunes, and thought themselves intitled to more regard, as being ancient servants of the family. On the other hand the natives of the new conquered province, who offered their services, in their stead, could not but relish a scheme that added a salary from government to all the conveniences of living at home : no wonder after that, if most of the officers and soldiers, that had come over with the young governor's uncle, and had been left with him, quitted the service one after another, and saw their places successively filled by people living in the province. To this error in politics was added another equally pernicious ; a number of officers and commanders, who had made their fortunes with the dispossessed governor, were suffered to remain in the city of Catec, where they lived quietly, but where they secretly cherished an attachment to their old master, and especially to Mirza-bakyr, his son-in-law ; nor was the conduct of the young Prince in other respects calculated to diminish their disaffections. There came at that very time to Catec, a certain fakir, or vagabond friar, called *Shah Yakya*, a man who having once been in the same school with the young Prince, at Shah-djehan-abad, had of course acquired an intimacy with him. This man after running all over the Decan, now made his appearance at Catec, where he soon became a favourite, and a bosom friend with his old acquaintance. This fakir was far from being either a virtuous man or a good natured one ; and as the young governor was then in the fever of youth, and surrounded by every allurements that could intoxicate with the fumes of power and sovereignty, he was the readier to catch the infection infused by his new favourite. This man instilled into his youthful mind certain notions of
intentions

Enormous
oppressions at
Catec.

inventing accusations again rich men, as if guilty of concealing money or wealth belonging to the dispossessed governor. Such accusations afforded pretences, not only for confining and ill using their persons, but also for sending garrisons into their houses, and carrying women from thence for the pretended purpose of hearing confessions, and extracting inquiries. This manage went so far that a rich man was sure of being reputed to have an inimical hoard at home, and a woman, reported to have a beautiful face, or an elegant shape, or even a skin particularly fatined, never failed to be sent for. The Fakir had besides, a skill at ferreting out such beautiful women, wherever they could be heard of; and by such and the like arts, he ingratiated himself so deeply in his master's favor, that his orders came to be universally obeyed. His house had become a tribunal of inquisition, where the business of scourging: and torturing went on regularly so that the cries of the oppressed reached the Capola of heaven. Matters went so far, that numbers of men of station and character, who after having once been concerned in the management of the old governor's finances, had been forgiven certain balances said to be due by them, were now taken to task, and obliged to pay those balances to the treasury of the new government. So many violences excited a general indignation: the government became detested: conspiracies were formed, and the citizens of the conquered capital, resolving to rid themselves of so much oppression, joined together unanimously; and one would have taken them to have amongst themselves but one head, one tongue, one heart, and one arm. Nor was this union difficult, or the execution of such a project, dangerous: by this time very few of the old servants had remained with the new governor: even G8djur-qhan's troops did not amount to above three hundred horsemen; his new servants, had filled all the departments; and the few musqueteers and troops kept on foot, were mostly composed of natives, that is of old servants of M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan's; and to crown all that, both military and citizens were in their hearts idolising Mirza-bakyr's character and person. The conspirators therefore found it no difficult matter to concert their measures, especially

Produce a
strong conspi-
racy.

Especially as the young governor, who had already lived a whole year in the country without hearing of any commotions, thought himself perfectly secure. It was at this last moment of slumber that the heavens that seemed hitherto so serene, were overcast at once, and produced that storm which we are going to mention in detail.

MIRZA-BAKYR, refugied in Decan, had not given himself up to resignation and rest: instigated by his own fiery temper, he was eternally instigating his father-in-law: the recovery of his government, the conquest of Bengal, and a full retribution for Ser effraz-qhan's murder, were points dear to his heart, and objects on which he was continually brooding. But M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan more experienced, and more mistrustful of the times, did not think either his own power, or even his talents equal to such mighty schemes; and wrapping his feet within the quilt of resignation, he disapproved of all those ambitious views. The young man repulsed here, resolved to try his fortune on his own private account; and he exerted himself with so much skill as well as warmth, that he found means to attach to his cause a number of persons of all sorts in those southern countries, and even to establish a regular correspondence between himself and the city of Catec, as there were several Zemindaries and several Lordships, that bordered on the Sreffa, he came and settled in those parts; and he found means to ingratiate himself so well with the couriers, merchants, bankers, and commanders of those frontiers, that he was daily informed of what was going on at Catec. Finding that both the military corps, as well as all the departments of the state, and even the young Prince's household, were composed mostly of natives, he established a regular correspondence with them; and by their means soon found out how much the new Government was detested, and how much the old one, and his own person were regretted. All these matters having been thoroughly investigated, and all the concerned ones having been confirmed in their views by promises and a variety of incentives, he one day informed them, that the *business in question* would never be brought to perfection, unless a

way was found to fall upon G8djur-qhan and his troops; or they contrived some other method to rid themselves of them, by rising suddenly upon them, as well as upon some others that were not of their mind. The hint was approved, and one day they raised a sedition; the people assembled every where, crying against oppression: the tumult grew considerable; and the new Governor being awakened from his lethargy, sent G8djur-qhan, with orders to inquire into the subject, and to appease the tumult by fair words, if possible: but the tumult had risen to an height: cries were heard in every street; and the sedition blazing out in every place, seemed to threaten a revolution. It was too late to think of remedying such evils. A general detestation of tyranny, with an indignation universal, had pervaded all ranks; and this, nothing could equal, but the universal desire of returning to their old masters, and of having again Mirza-bakyr. Among the conspirators, none cut so capital a figure, as that same Sheh-morad, who had saved M8rsh8d-c8ly-qhan's family at the very nick of time. From a simple equerry to Ser-efraz-qhan, he had worked himself into so much consideration all over the country, that he was now one of the most considerable men in the province, and he headed a party very inimical to the new government. In short heaven itself seemed to favor the revolution, and this seemed to have been differed only by one day. For the next morning, as G8djur-qhan was going to the Governor's palace, with his ordinary retinue, he was set upon by the seditious, and torn to pieces in the middle of a street. In an instant, the seditious spread a rumour throughout the city that Mirza-bakyr was in town. By this time the sedition became general; and proper persons having been dispatched to that young nobleman, who had been always upon the wing, and who possibly was even within the province, he soon made his appearance in the out skirts of the city. From thence he sent word to his confederates, that as the gates were in the possession of some old soldiers of the enemy's, they must manage so, as to frighten them into a surrender of the keys: or if possible, so as to gain them to their party, as this

would

would prove conducive to the scheme of seizing Säyd-ahmed-qhan's person. Instantly the citizens, and the people about this young man, who were all of the complot, sent word to the few musqueteers that held the gates for him, "That if they set them open directly, quarter would be given them; else, if they waited until Mirza-bakyr should force them open, then they might depend upon receiving the treatment they deserved." The poor people sensible of their small number, and intimidated by the threats of the multitudes that surrounded them, paid no attention to the intreaties and promises of their young master, and they opened the gates; after which most of them mixed with the insurgents. Mirza-bakyr who was at hand, and very active in his motions, immediately entered the city, and going to the palace, he seized and confined Säyd-ahmed-qhan. After which he sat on the latter's Musnud, received the respects of the principal men of the city, ordered his prisoner to be close confined to his apartment, and then took possession of his treasures and furniture: he likewise sent the prisoner's consort, children and family into confinement at the fortress of Bara-baty. Some time before the revolution, notice had been taken of the alteration in the countenance of the new troops, as well as of Mirza-bakyr's approach; and the whole, as well as G8d-jur-qhan's death, had been imparted to Aali-verdi-qhan, who on the first intelligence received, had quitted the city and encamped in the out skirts: from whence he was going to depart in haste, with what troops were at hand, in order to support his nephew; when a rumour spread that he was a prisoner; and this intelligence being confirmed by spies, it made him suspend his departure. He had doubts in his mind, and could not understand how such a mighty revolution could have been compassed without its being secretly supported by Nizam-el-mulk, Viceroy of Decan, who possibly might be still at the bottom of this affair. Such an interference rendered the matter of the utmost consequence, and required to be maturely weighed, and vigorously provided against. Being therefore uncertain in his own mind, he held consultations.

Mirza-bakyr
seizes the new
Governor.

tions with his ministers of state, and his principal relations, amongst which last the young Governor's mother held a very high rank in Aali-verdi-qhan's opinion, who paid her as much respect as if she had been his own mother. The young man was the most beloved of her three sons; and had engrossed her affections so far, that she had totally set her heart upon him; the Princess being joined by her husband, Hadji-ahmed, spoke much of the revolution, exaggerated its consequence, and at last she intreated the Viceroy to leave the government of Sreffa to Mirza-bakyr, as a compensation for his releasing his prisoner, with his whole family; and they both contended that this was the best party. Aali-verdi-qhan was by no means of such an opinion; he firmly believed that to yield to Mirza-bakyr, would affect his honour, and shake the columns of his power and administration; and on the other hand, Mustepha-qhan, who was his principal commander, and a man strongly attached to him, was of the same opinion, and urged him to come forth, and to avenge his cause by main force, and with sabre in hand. Aali-verdi-qhan having taken some days to perpend the matter in his own mind, preferred war to peace, and gave his orders accordingly.

As there was a suspicion that Mirza-bakyr was under hand supported by Nizam-el-mulk, and the releasing the young governor was thought a difficult object, which enhanced the importance of the expedition, the greatest efforts were made in raising and assembling troops, and in providing stores. The Viceroy enjoined to his ancient commanders to assemble such corps as were at hand, without waiting for those new troops that might be forth coming, in hopes of getting service, as they might join by the way. Accordingly Mustepha-qhan was ordered to augment his brigade, to five thousand horses; Shimshir-qhan to three thousand; Serdar-qhan, to two thousand; Umer-qhan to three; Atallah-qhan, to two; Haider-c8ly-qhan, Fakir-ollah-beg-qhan, and Mir-djaffer-qhan, to a thousand each; Mir-shef-eddin, and Shah-mahmed-maaf8om to five hundred each; and Amanet-qhan of Narnöul, to a thousand five hundred

cred. Mir-cazem-qhan to two hundred; and Bahadyr-aaly-qhan, inspector of the heavy artillery, to five hundred. Fateh-rao the paymaster, and Chahidun with some other Gentoo officers, were ordered to raise fifty thousand musqueteers. all these preparatives being made, Aali-verdi-qhan took his leave of his brother Hadji-ahmed, as well as of his consort: he seemed deeply affected, and at parting he was heard to say: *that if he ever returned at all from that expedition, it would be with their son: else, he would never shew them his face again.* He left his eldest nephew, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan in the city at the head of five thousand horse and ten thousand foot, with orders to take care of the government in his absence; and after having spied a favourable moment in the stars. He departed at the head of twenty-thousand horse, old troops, and he advanced by continual marches, dragging along his light and heavy artillery. On approaching the frontier, he published that he would give one lac of rupees to whosoever would rescue his nephew, and bring him to camp; and if it should happen to be a commander of a corps, he would, over and above that sum, present each of his men, with two months pay. Such mighty preparatives could not long remain concealed from Mirza-bakyr: the enemy's superior power had intimidated him: he seemed to have abated much of confidence; and was at a loss how to manage. However, as he was now thoroughly embarked in the enterprize, he resolved to stand it out. For this purpose, he drew out of the city of Catec what forces he could muster, and chusing a post beyond the Maha-nudda, at a small distance from the city, he intrenched himself there with his back to the river, whilst his front was surrounded by his lines and defended by small and large artillery, his camp and baggage he left at about three or four cosses behind, together with his prisoner. The latter was in a Rutt or four wheeled carriage covered all over with a white cloth, which was surmounted by a net work of strong cord, that embraced the whole coach. Two T8ranian Moguls were placed with the prisoner within the coach, with orders to fall upon him with their poniards, and put

Aali-verdi-qhan marches into Sreffa.

Aali-verdi-qhan marches into Sreffa.

him to death, the moment they should see any of the enemy's troops at hand. Five hundred Decanian troopers were likewise placed round the coach, with orders, the moment they should see the enemy draw near, to run each his spear through the coach, and then make the best of his way to their main, if they could; else, they were to provide for their own safety, in what manner soever they should think fit. Aali-verdi-qhan being informed of all these particulars, set a part some trusty officers and troops with orders, the moment they should perceive a fluctuation and a disorder in the enemy's ranks, to run full speed, wheel round their rear, and fall upon that part of the camp where they would spy the white coach; after which it would become easy to rescue the prisoner. Having said so much, he set out himself after midnight, and by the dawn of the day, he found himself close to the enemy's intrenchment. This sight surprised the intrenched troops, and their spirits were daunted at the enemy's numbers and military array: the dismay was so great, that hardly a few cannon balls and rockets had been sent amongst them, than they fell into confusion and thought only of saving themselves. The enemy emboldened by this trepidation, rushed into the river, attacked the intrenchment by its rear (and this was covered only by the stream,) and broke into it in shoals: the intrenched troops daunted at so much daringness, thought only of retreating and flying. By this time Mustepha-qhan and Mir-djaaffer-qhan, who had been appointed for rescuing the prisoner, had already advanced on the rear of the enemy, and were now at half an hour's distance from the wished for spot: But here Mahmed-aamir-qhan, brother of Mir-djaaffer-qhan's consort, parted company with them, and with two officers, called Affalet-qhan and Dilir-qhan, both sons to Omer-qhan and a few others, who to the number of ten men, resolved to share his danger, he advanced some hundred paces before the rest; and he was the very first who broke into the enemy's camp in search of the white coach; this was pointed out to him by a young man, whom he found there, and who happened to be son to a person in the prisoner's service, and to that part this daring troop turned.

Bakyr-aali-qhan defeated.

turned directly. This was no sooner observed by the five hundred Marhatta troopers, than they came close to the coach, and each of them ran his spear through, and turning about, put spurs to his horse immediately and fled with all his might. These numerous spears run through the coach, had no other effect, than that of killing one of the two Moguls, who were sitting with the prisoner, with orders to dispatch him, and wounded the other. The wounded man seeing no end to the repeated strokes, and finding that spears were endlessly run through the coach, stretched himself at whole length, and covered his body with the corpse of his companion. By one of these good lucks, for which there is no accounting, it happened that the prisoner himself squatted likewise as low as he could, and received no harm at all. At this critical moment those twelve heroes arrived, and cutting through the net-work, they lifted up the curtain, and were immediately recollected by the prisoner, who thanked them for their timely interposition, and loaded them with encomiums. Mahmed-aamin-qhan who thought the moment precious, jumped down from his horse, and taking the prisoner by the hand, he bid him mount instantly: but whilst they were exchanging a few words with their backs turned, the wounded Mogul jumped out at the opposite door, and nimbly vaulting upon the horse, he fled with the rapidity of lightning, and soon had joined the Marhattas; leaving the twelve men much surprised and confounded at the man's alertness. The surprise was followed by a peel of laughter, and even by the sense of admiration at the man's presence of mind. However as another horse was wanting, Dilir-qhan alighted, and made the prisoner mount; and as the Bengal detachment was now in sight, Mir-djaffer pushed forward, and having been reconnoitred by Mahmed-aamin-qhan and his troops, they felicitated him, on the recovery of his kinsman and brought him to the coach. That General no sooner fixed the prisoner, than he alighted instantly, made the prisoner mount on the elephant, and mounted himself behind to protect his person. It was thus that by a singular dispensation of providence, a youth devoted to death long ago, and which waited only

The young Prince, against all probability, is found alive and safe.

only for the fatal stroke, is the next hour seated on an elephant, carried in pomp and ceremony, viewed with awe and admiration, and held up as a lord over mankind. People who came to hear of so strange a delivery, thronged in shoals to have only a sight of him, and as soon as they could descry him from afar, they would incline their heads to the ground in token of respect, and kiss their thumbs to express their wonder and attachment. Admirable are thine ways, Oh Almighty Lord, owner of all the kingdoms on earth (10)! *he bestows dominion on whom he pleases, takes it from whom he pleases; raises to honour whom he chooses, and depresses to the ground whom he chooses. Everyone is in his hand; and truly his power is capable of every thing.* Instantly some swift horsemen were dispatched to Aali-verdi-qhan with the tidings that his beloved grandson was safe; and the young man making his appearance a few moments after, alighted and made a profound bow to his grand father and uncle. The Viceroy on his drawing nearer, drew him to his bosom, embraced him tenderly but in silence, and he filled brimful the measure of his wishes, by keeping the youth for some minutes close to his breast; after which giving reins to his satisfaction, he ordered his tent to be pitched on that very spot, commanded the military music to strike-up, and sent the young Prince to the bath, where he was to be dressed in a clean apparel. As soon as he saw him come out of that place, he got him dressed in a princely Qhilaat, and after adorning his person with a variety of jewels of immense value, such as a Serpich, a Djica, a Calghi, and a Chaplet of large pearls, he took him by the hand, conducted him to the Mesned of command and dominion, made him sit thereon, and ordered the principal persons of his court and army to offer him their Nuzurs, and to pay him their homages. This ceremony having produced a large sum of money, the whole of it was distributed to a number of needy persons, who were requested to look upon it as a charity of good omen; and as soon as they were retired, some accommodations and

(10) Sentence of the Coran in Arabic. The kissing of the thumb is not a custom of Indian origin: it has been imported by the Mahometans of Arabia, who kiss their thumbs of the Noon-day prayers on Friday, when appreciations are pronounced for Mohammed.

Carpets were spread for those present ; and all joined in offering up a thanksgiving prayer for so signal a delivery. Immediately a number of Carriages were dispatched under a strong escorte to Bara-bati, for bringing from thence the young Prince's consort, with his children and family ; but this, however, could not be effected without much difficulty. The garrison left in that fortress by Mirza-bakyr was divided in two parties : those that had ill used, and even insulted their prisoners, and feared a return in kind from the Conquerors, were for keeping their gates shut up ; those on the contrary, who had used them kindly, were for setting them open, in hopes of being rewarded on both accounts. This party however prevailed at last : the gates were set open, and the prisoners delivered to the escorte. These were the young Prince's Consort, with his family and dependants ; and these being put upon veiled carriages, were brought to the camp of the victorious, where a set of convenable tents had been pitched within an enclosure for their use : and it was then that those parched hearts, that had wandered so long sobed in the dreary desert of absence, and, the wilderness of separation, quenched their thirst by gulping down in long draughts the cooling sherbet of a completion of wishes. A few days after the Viceroy presented his nephew with such articles as he stood in need of, and were necessary to a person of his exalted rank, such as Elephants and horses ; arms and accoutrements ; saddles and trappings ; a wardrobe complete ; a set of jewels of various sorts ; and a great number of other conveniences ; and when he saw him convenably equipped, he dismissed him with a deal of distinction, wishing him a happy journey to M8rsh8dabad ; where he was to pay his respects to his parents, to overwhelm their hearts with a flood of joy ; and above all to rescue from the pangs of separation and the agonies of deep-felt woe, a disconsolate mother who since his captivity had abstained from the light of the day, and had reckoned herself as one in the grave. The unfortunate Princess did not know as yet, that providence, in compassion to her sufferings, had by ways of her own, brought about an opportunity of lighting

the taper of content and joy to the wick of his long wished arrival; and to illuminate by the beams of his presence, that night of darkness that had surrounded her existence. As soon as the young prince was departed, he was followed by part of the army and by the Viceroy's heavy baggage, who thought proper to tarry in the country with a body of five thousand horse, and his best officers; his intention being to see the country intirely quieted, and it's revenues and finances upon a proper footing. As soon as this end was obtained, he conferred the Lieutenancy of the country on an officer of distinction, called Moqhless-aali-qhan, whom he appointed deputy to the young Prince, gave him a body of troops, and took his departure for Bengal. However, a few days after, he altered his mind; and on the recommendation of Mustepha-qhan, an Afghan general, for whom he had the highest regard, he recalled the deputy of his own nomination, and gave his office to Sheh-mahmed-maas8m of Panip8t, a friend of the Viceroy's and a commander of eminence, who bore a great character for both valor and conduct: the new Deputy-governor followed for some days the Viceroy in his journey to receive his instructions, and also his Qhylaats of investiture; and as soon as this end was accomplished, he returned to Catec with such a body of veteran troops, as were thought adequate to his exigencies. The Viceroy after having dismissed this commander with distinction and honor, continued his journey, shortening his distance every day. He had with him his consort, with his grand-son and nephew Mirza-mehmed, since Seradj-ed-dö8la; and he turned his journey into a continual sporting, shooting and hunting, being exceedingly fond of that amusement.

WHILST Aali-verdi-qhan was occupied in conquering the 8ressa, and in rescuing his Grand-son and nephew from the bonds of captivity, Zin-ed-din-ahmed-qhan his other Grand-son and nephew, Viceroy of Azimabad, was undertaking an expedition against those restless refractory inhabitants of the Bodjp8r, in the province of Shah-abad, where Radja-Gorut-sing, and Bab8-advent-sing, two powerful Zemindars or Princes, had been committing this long while the
most

most enormous excesses, acting entirely, as if they had been independent. So much guilt, and so much contempt of authority deserved to be chastised in an exemplary manner. But as my honored father, the illustrious and vaillant Hedaiet-aali-qhan, had great possessions in that country; and these as well as his high character, added to the authority which always attends a command of long standing, had given him a victorious sway in that Province; it was expected that he would not fail to cut an eminent figure in that expedition; but it was for these very advantages he had become an eye sore to Chintamendas, ancient Divan and servant of the young Viceroy: a Gentoo whose pride was wounded besides by the high influence which that nobleman had likewise acquired over the whole army as well as over the young Viceroy, in virtue of his office of Pay-master-general (Major-general) of the forces. So many advantages, and so much lustre in a single man, was what the cankered heart of the Gentoo could not bear; and he made use of his ascendant over his master's mind, to thwart my father's views of illustration and fame, and to bring him under the lash of some well-managed mortification. As he had his master's ear at command, he gave him to understand " That Seyd-hedaiet-aali-qhan " was so much respected by all the Zemindars of that country, and likewise " so much considered by his master, that these people had very naturally turned the eye of hope towards that nobleman; and that the latter having from " a length of time connections with them, he would to all appearance become a powerful intercessor in their behalf, so soon as he should see them, in " some danger: in which case his highness would find, that after spending a " deal of money, and undergoing much bodily labour, in a campaign likely " to be very fatiguing, he would be obliged to grant those people a full pardon, and to reinstate them in their possessions, without reaping any other " fruit from all his toiling but a few concessions on their part, and some " barren submissions. That such would prove the end of his campaign, no " man in his senses would deny, who knew that how ready soever Zemindars " might

“ might be to shake the yoke and to assume an independance on the slightest
 “ it was a standing rule with them to submit on the slightest reverse which
 “ they experienced, and to spend rather immense sums to procure a protec-
 “ tor, than to pay to their master a small sum as his due : it is then expedi-
 “ ent, added he, that Hedäiet-aali-qhan, who certainly shall interfere, were
 “ it but to raise his character ; and to whose solicitations you shall not be
 “ willing to resist, should take his residence at some greater distance from you ;
 “ and this you may easily compass, by making use of soft expressions.” Such
 insinuations operated their full effect on the young Viceroy’s mind ; and as
 he had already thoughts of sending that nobleman into the country of *Nar-
 but-semäi*, to accustom those people to order, and to insure the revenue, he
 requested his repairing thither, as soon as possible ; and he invested him for
 that purpose with full command. He added, “ That as his mind was not ea-
 “ sy on those districts, as well as that of *Mug*, where Radja Sunder-sing, a
 “ powerful Zemindar, was possessed of a great extent of ground at the foot
 “ of the hills, and had but too many connections with the powers on the o-
 “ ther side of that chain ; he wished to have there a person of character and
 “ abilities, accustomed to manage Zemindars : that he requested therefore
 “ his repairing to that command immediately, and his keeping a watchful
 “ eye on that spot, as this would prove the only expedient for easing his
 “ mind, and letting him depart satisfied on his own expedition about Shah-
 “ abad and Rhotas. But that as on the other hand, his absence would cause
 “ many inconveniencies to him, he had contrived to lessen them, by requesting
 “ that mean while his younger brother, Mehdi-nefsär-qhan might exercise,
 “ as deputy to his elder, his office of Pay-master-general of the army.” Such
 a speech from a master and lord implied a full command ; and Hedäiet-
 aali-qhan, although fully apprised from whence came the shaft, smiled
 consent, and appointed his younger brother to act as his deputy in his ab-
 sence ; after which he departed to the spot allotted to his care. Mean while
 the

the Governor having set out on his expedition with a good army and a train of artillery, soon found means to humble entirely the refractory Zemindars of that country, who really deserved all the ruin that befel them. Few of the merchants of that district, few of its inhabitants, had not felt their exactions; and hardly any traveller could venture to pass through their lands, without being stripped, and in case of resistance, murdered. It would require a volume to enumerate the many violences, and the many exortions they were perpetually putting in practice against all mankind. At last after two engagements that cost much blood, and two sieges that consumed much time, the refractory Zemindars were driven from their strong holds, their castles and habitations were destroyed, and the country was freed from their incursions and eternal violences. The young Viceroy having rid himself of these troublesome oppressors, turned his views towards quietting the country, tranquilising the minds of the husbandmen, establishing a revenue, and resuscitating the finances.

Successful expedition of the young Viceroy of Azimabad, against the Zemindars of Shahabad.

THESE had been this long while entirely governed by an officer of consequence, called Roshen-qhan-terahi, an Afghan, who bore a character amongst his countrymen for valour and conduct, and had acquired a great renown in the contiguous provinces of Ilah-abad and Azim-abad, where he had great connections with all their Zemindars; being a complete master of the art of always seeming to be of their opinion, and of uniting with them, whenever he could not subdue them by main force. This man had objections to the extirpation of the Zemindars of Shah-abad, on his own private account; and he thought it inexpedient besides, and dangerous, if not impossible; as to their unbounded influence in their own extensive possessions, they joined connections of long standing with the independant Zemindars and Princes on the other side of the mountainous country: He therefore made several visits to the young Viceroy, to whom he urged strong representations on the subject: he enlarged upon the many inconveniencies that would attend the expedition,

or necessarily result from it; and made it a request that a full pardon should be granted them, and that they might be reinstated in their principalities. The request was not of a nature to be suddenly granted; the more so, as mean while letters and messages were perpetually passing and repassing between the Zemindars and him. But independently of that, his requests were urged with so much forwardness, and uttered with such a tone of voice, as could not but give offence to a young man naturally haughty and imperious, both from actual possession of power, and from a consciousness of adequate abilities. His displeasure becoming the more sensible, as the representations became more importunate, his sense of them was soon perceived by some others who took care to envenom matters. One day the dialogue between the Viceroy and the Afghan becoming much warmer than usual, the Afghan who looked only on the Viceroy's years, without stretching his apprehension further, made use of such expressions as the other neither could nor would bear. The man accustomed to live in the country, had the rustic boldness to express himself in these very terms: *You are yet a child, and have not seen the world; nor have you any idea of the revolutions so common in it; nor do you yet know of all the difference between day and night. Believe me: listen to my requests to-day: else, a time may come when you shall wish to have done it.* Such expressions, delivered with so much rusticity and freedom, could not but shock the Viceroy; his very independence took the alarm: and he resolved to make an example of that ferocious insolent man. For that purpose, he made use of an officer who had always commanded with honour: and this was Mir-codret-ollah, son to Shah-shukur-ollah, the Cadyri Fakir; and to him he joined another resolute man, Hassen-beg, who had been Governor of the castle of Mongher. The opportunity soon presented itself: the Afghan having come in the evening to pay his court to the Viceroy, and waiting with some impatience, the moment of his appearing in the tent of audience, he was suddenly set upon by those two men, who dispatched him in an instant. He was become so very corpulent, that he could not get up from his

Roshen-qhan, an
Afghan of im-
portance, mur-
dered.

his seat, but was overthrown at once; and it was in that situation he plunged at one dip into endless eternity.

It was in that expedition that the Viceroy, after exhibiting himself proofs of valour and conduct, thought proper to remember my paternal uncle, Mehdi-neffar-qhan, who had rendered considerable services in it, and had so much recommended himself to his notice, that with the consent of my father he was invested with the high office of Pay-master general of the forces. Not content with giving him that investiture with the usual ceremonies of a Qhylaar, or dress of honor, an elephant, a sabre, a horse, and some other presents, he took care to distinguish him by the richness and elegance of the dress, to which he added, in full audience, *a request to live with him as his friend, and to be of his family.* The offer was received with becoming respect; and he was henceforward treated with a consideration which soon distinguished him from all his friends. And indeed he richly deserved that distinction; and should we attempt to dwell on the encomiums due to that honored uncle of mine, we would swell this work by a whole section; and our attention, mean while might incur the reproach of a family partiality, or of some other interested motives. Although a resolute soldier, he was remarkable for the modesty of his department; and although little inclined to ask a favour, he made it a point to support not only his friends, but also his countrymen and relations, for whom he always approved himself equally grateful and zealous. Nothing could equal his generosity and munificence, but his readiness to do a good office, unasked. On the other hand, the purity of his private life, and the decency of his public conduct, as well as his fidelity to his word, and his liberality to his friends, could be equalled by nothing, but his bravery and his military talents. To so many endearing qualifications, he added a facility of utterance, and a flow of elegant expression which commanded attention, and captivated every heart, and although remarkably alive on the point of honor in his public conduct, in his private life he was as remarkable for patience and forbearance.

Admirable
character of
Mehdi-neffar-
qhan.

forbearance. May God Almighty's mercy and forgiveness repose upon him for ever!

WE have left my honored father employed in subduing the Princes of the hilly country. As he sought to raise his character and to acquire a renown, the Radja of Ramgur became of course the object of his attention, this Radja was the most powerful Gentoo Zemindar of the hills; and so considerable and warlike, that the Viceroys of the province had hardly any controul over him. He was joined in that design by Radja Sunder-sing, and by Radja Djái-kishen-ray, both Zemindars of the Palamow country, as well as by some other Zemindars of Sereff-cotombah, and Shirgáoti. My father supported by such a confederacy laid siege to the fortrefs of Ramgur, and at last took it: after which he advanced some journies more into the hilly country; and after having settled it, he was taking some rest from the fatigues of that expedition: when on a sudden, intelligence was brought by some trusty persons, that Ragodji-bhoshapandet (5), had sent his own Pardhan at the head of forty thousand horse to conquer Bengal; and that in a few days they would pass close to him through the hills in their way to that Country. This intelligence, such as it seemed to be, was with a scrupulous exactitude transmitted to the Governor General of Bahar, who forwarded it with letters of his own to Aali verdighan, this Prince not trusting the intelligencer, payed little attention to the letter; and he answered his nephew, by desiring him to be easy in his mind, and to apply himself to his business; adding, *that whenever the Marhattas should make their appearance, care would be taken to give them a good reception.* This answer of the Viceroy's having been forwarded to my forgiven father, he held consultations with his friends, as the forces he had with him were by no means equal to the task of barring the passage to such invaders: they all advised him

The Marhattas invade Bengal.

(5) *Rbaga-dji-bbajla* was prince sovereign of the *Barar*, a country of a large extent, South-west of Bengal, but feudatory of the Marhatta empire. *Pandet*, which in Decan signifies, clerk, writer, or learned man, is a title which those Princes join to their names; and *Pard-ban* probably signifies general in the Marhatta language.

to quit the hilly country ; and he accordingly descended and encamped at the foot of that chain. In a few days the Marhattas rushed through it, and turning towards Pachâet and Mohor-bendj, they fell upon the Midnip8r country, before any intelligence had reached Bengal of their approach. The Viceroy at that time was advancing towards M8rsh8dabad with about five or six thousand men, spending his time in hunting, sporting and seeing the country ; and he had reached that day an excellent spot near Midnip8or ; when one of the crown-collectors of those parts, a man of trust and much sense, having requested to be introduced, gave him notice that the Marhattas were not at twenty cosses from thence : that Baha-sukur pandet, at the head of forty thousand horse, was advancing rapidly ; and that to-morrow in the evening, or the day after at day-break, he would probably be at the very spot. He added, that, the intelligence being so important, he had quitted his post to bring it himself." The Viceroy happened to be then at his noon prayers : without being intimidated by the smallness of his own numbers, without betraying the least trepidation, without seeming to be much affected, he was heard to answer the intelligencer by these very words : "*where are those infidels ?*" "*and where is the spot where I could not chastise them ?*" this singular circumstance of the Viceroy's intrepidity, is what I hold from the very man who gave the information, and who even then could not help expressing his amazement at so undimmed a coolness ; and he used to add, that he could not discover in his looks the least perturbation, nor the least alteration in his complexion or features : an instance of fearlessness, that even then excited his amazement after so much lapse of time. The particulars of this invasion are as follows : Ragodji-bhosla was a Prince nearly related to the Radja Sah8, and one of the most renowned commanders in the Marhatta empire, where he possessed the country of Barar, of which the great-Naigp8r is the capital : this Prince either instigated by Nizam-el mulk, or prompted by what he knew of the weakness of the empire, undertook to make an irruption into the kingdom of Bengal.

His views were either to make a conquest of it, or at least to establish in it contributions to the full amount of the Chöst, that is, one quarter of the revenues. An odious yoke that had become established in many countries of Hindostan and Decan, but from which Bengal had yet remained entirely free. For this purpose he made choice of his own prime minister, Bha-lukur-pandet, and gave him the command of an army of twenty-five thousand horse, which renomme had swelled to forty thousand; and that army had passed with ease through the mountainous country and difficult passes, which like so many gates, shut up the entrance of Bengal, but where, as we have already observed, no body had thought of opposing their passage. For this general having been disappointed in looking out for a convenient passage through the mountains of Sreffa, had turned to his left, and sought one through those vallies that stretch at eight days journey to the west of M8rsh8dabad. This intelligence was brought to Aali-verdi-qhan, whilst he was encamped at about Sahcra, being close to a spot called the fortunate stage; and there he was told for certain that the Marhattas had already passed through the vallies of Pachâet, and were going to fall on the Bardvan. It was difficult to be more unprovided than he was against so unexpected an irruption: As he had already given orders for disbanding part of his army, and great part of the disbanded forces, as well as many other troops, were gone to M8rsh8dabad on the assurance that the expedition was at an end, and that all was peace; it happened that at the moment the intelligence was ascertained, he was found to have no more than three or four thousand horse, and about five thousand musqueteers about his person. Instantly he took the resolution of advancing in to the Bardevan, a country for populousness and plenty of provisions, superior to most in Bengal; his intention being to encamp with his back to this capital, and his front to the enemies. Full of this notion, he quitted the Mubarec-men-zil, or the fortunate stage, and the second day he arrived on this side of the city of Bardevan, whilst the Marhattas were arrived on the other; to which

which they set fire directly, so that the greatest part of it was consumed. Here some skirmishes happened between the two armies, and each party in the evening returned to its camp. Bha-fukur finding by the countenance of the enemy, and by the daringness of their General, that he had not been misinformed as to the bravery of his troops, and the personal conduct and valor of their Lord, he conceived that it would be better to get something from him without fighting, than to put every thing to the hazard of a battle; and he had thoughts of returning back to his country, after having secured his honour by that contribution. He therefore sent the enemy word "that as the Marhattas had come from afar, and were "fatigued and jaded with their long marches, they would be glad to return to their "own country, if he would but present them with so much as ten lacs: which small "sum would be just enough to entertain them as his guests." This proposal was far from producing the desired effect: the Viceroy found his honour wounded by it; and it shocked Mustepha-qhan likewise, who was always for fighting and killing, as the only way in which he knew how to support a character, and the only one which could raise the importance of the military in general, and his own in particular. The Viceroy conscious of personal abilities and valor, and instigated also by his general, rejected the proposal with disdain; and he bid the enemy advance, if they dared. This answer having animated both parties, both parties for some days fell a skirmishing; but as such small engagements did not suit Aali-verdi-qhan's temper or interests, he resolved to leave his baggage, such as carts, wheel carriages, large tents and other such articles, in his camp, and with his troops thus disincumbered to rush upon the Marhatta horse and try what they could do in a day of battle. At day-break he mounted, after having published under severe penalties, that no one of the Camp-followers or of the baggage-men should presume to mingle with the troops on their march; but injunctions availed nothing; and hardly were the troops marched, when the camp-followers afraid of the enemy, flung themselves amongst the troops and encumbered them exceedingly. This was the opportunity which the enemy wished: in an instant the

Aali-verdi-qhan resolves to fight the Marhattas.

Some of his
commanders lag
behind.

the Marhattas made their appearance on all sides and attacked every where; but the Bengal army standing their ground, the business of killing and wounding went on briskly, and brave actions were performed on both sides. In this conflict Mufahab-qhan, eldest son to Umer-qhan was surrounded and slain. This was a young man who joined to the bravery of his family, an heroical prowess of his own; he was already an officer of renown and character, and wanted to signilize himself in that trying day; but having advanced too far through the thickest of the enemy, he succumbed under repeated wounds, and fell speechless, after having performed actions worthy of himself. Still the army was gaining ground on the enemy, when the day commencing to decline towards the evening, the Viceroy who conceived his rear to be covered by Mustepha-qhan and Shimsher-qhan, and Serdar-qhan with their troops, observed with surprise that they lagged behind. As such a behaviour was so very different from their usual conduct, he concluded that they must be dissatisfied with him; and from that moment he suspected that the battle was going to put on a strange appearance; but as he was already far from his own camp, and still farther from the Marhatta main, and night was coming on, he perceived that he could not for want of followers, either fall upon the enemy's camp, nor indeed recover his own. Sensible of his [impotence, but not dismayed, he stopped where he was; and it proved to be a bad spot, consisting of stiff clay, that had been rendered miry by a preceeding rain: so that there was no fixing one's foot any where, and unfortunately no conveniency was at hand, but three or four Palekies, and a small tent which was immediately pitched upon a higher plat of ground: it was at about six or seven Coffes from Bardvan. That day the whole baggage with all the riches it contained, was seized and plundered by the Marhattas, who cut or wounded every one of the laggards; nor did any escape the massacre but such as found means to abscond in the neighbouring fields. As for the troops that remained yet with him, after the defection of the Afghans, they were surrounded in every direction by the Marhatta horse, who continued repeated

peatedly their attacks, until the dusk of the evening; at which time the two parties remained where they were. That night the people about the Viceroy were in such a confusion and the cries of the distressed were so confused and afflicting, that these scenes seemed to give an image of the day of judgment: as for Mustepha-qhan, Shimshir-qhan, Serdar-qhan, and all the other Afghan commanders, they seemed to herd together more than usual, had retired by themselves with down cast looks, and had shewn in these repeated engagements very little inclination to expose their persons or even to run any risk at all. The truth is, that they had several reasons for being discontented, and seemed evidently to hold Councils amongst themselves. The principal of their subjects of discontent was this, that the levies made for the last two or three expeditions, had been disbanded as soon as the expedition, however short, had been over: an iniquitous practice that ruined many commanders, discouraged every officer, and discontented the whole army: for it is observable that in the last expedition, which ended by delivering the governor of Sressa from confinement, Mustepha-qhan had represented, “ that his highness had already more than once ordered new levies to be made “ under mighty promises, and so soon as the time of danger was over, had suddenly dismissed them again without the least regard to the wrong done to so “ many deserving officers, as well as to their men; and he added openly that “ as he spoke not only for himself, but also for others, he requested that at “ this time no infraction of agreement, nor breach of promise should take “ place.” Such a heavy complaint at the beginning of such a campaign had appeared ominous; Aali-verdi-qhan had thought it expedient to stop their murmurs, and to regain Mustepha-qhan’s good will, as well as that of the others, by giving him his word that the subject of their complaint would not happen again; and nevertheless, so soon as the last expedition to Catec had been over, and the young governor was rescued from his danger, all the new levies had been disbanded to a man: a proceeding which did not fail to break the hearts of the

whole army, and highly discontented Mustepha-qhan and all the Afghans. Nor can it be denied, but that such a duplicity of behaviour, and such a glaring breach of promise, highly disparaged the Viceroy's character, and shockingly tarnished the lustre of all his good qualities; nothing being uglier in a man of command, than to sophisticate his word; and nothing more dangerous in a sovereign, than to let it transpire that there is no truth and no fidelity in his promises. An attachment to his word, will at all times gain the hearts of his dependants, and even of all mankind; will enforce his authority, and inspire the world with a respectful awe for his person. But this breach of promise in the Viceroy, odious as it was, was not the only grievance of which the Afghans had to complain; they also complained of the death of the Afghan commander Roshen-qhan, who for a very inadequate misdemeanour of his had been precipitately put to death by the young Viceroy of Azimabad: Although he was a military commander of eminence, and a Fodjar or military ruler of the province of Shahi-abad, and of the whole country of Bodjp8r. So unjust, so hasty an execution, had been resented by all the Afghans in the service; and the general cry had been, that it was an ugly action that needed no commentary. But as if all these subjects of discontent had not sufficiently operated on their minds, the Viceroy had added another of late, which gave general offence, and in particular sunk deep in Mustepha-qhan's mind. It was this; as the army in its late expedition to 8ressa, was passing through the possessions of the Radja of Mohur-bundj, it had been exceedingly harrassed by that Prince, who had vowed a personal attachment to Mirza-bakyr, and seemed ambitious to give proofs of it at this particular conjuncture. He had even been guilty they say of some excesses. A conduct so characterised could not fail to render him an object of wrath for the Viceroy, who on his side resolved to make an example of him on his return from the expedition. The Radja sensible now of his danger, had thrown himself into the arms of Mustepha-qhan, who interceded vigorously for him: But this intercession of his had been taken so ill, that it had even produced

produced some very severe looks, with a severe reprimand. A few moments after an order was given to Mir-djaaser to dispatch the man, the moment he should make his appearance in the hall of the audience: for the Radja finding his application to the general had produced nothing but farther tokens of wrath, had resolved to risk a visit on his own bottom; and he came without a safe conduct. But the hall being already taken possession of by Mir-djaaser-qhan, who filled it with armed men, the Gentoo no sooner made his appearance, than he was set upon instantly; and hacked to pieces; whilst all his attendants were fought out and knocked down, as if it had been a hunting match. After this execution, his country had been thoroughly plundered and sacked to the great regret of the General, who conceived his honour deeply wounded in this whole management. All these transactions having taken place a few days before the arrival of the Marhattas, had discontented not only the General himself, but every one of the Afghan commanders, who, as well as their soldiers, looked out for a favorable moment for quitting the service, nor did they make any secret of their intentions; so that the Viceroy was soon informed of it, and he now accounted for their backwardness in the late engagements. He was appalled and confounded by such a general air of defection at so dangerous a crisis: the General was not only his best friend, but also the boldest and most forward of his commanders; and his personal influence over all his countrymen, (which constituted one full half of his troops) was boundless. Such a general discontent was not of a nature to be remedied suddenly or with ease; and his situation was become so critical, that he was now pent-up within a narrow circle from whence there was no coming out without being hacked to pieces by the enemy, and to which there was no coming near with any thing like victuals or provisions. Become now fully sensible of the extreme danger of his situation, he resolved to leave no means untried for extricating himself; and first of all he sent under hand to the Marhatta camp, an officer of character, called Mir-qhair-ollah-qhan who

All the Afghans
in the army in-
clined to a de-
fection.

who was himself a Decani or born in Decan, and now enjoyed the office of Pay-master to the Radja of Burdevan's forces. He was entrusted, as from the Radja himself, with a message which advised the Marhatta General to give his preference to ways of pacification. This was Bha-fukur the Pandet, who had just plundered the whole baggage of the Bengal army, and of course knew all the extremities to which it must have been reduced: he received the message with much indifference, and he answered in these words: *Tell your master from me, that the Viceroy of Bengal is now stripped totally of his baggage, and totally surrounded by my troops; nor is there a possibility of his escaping. How then can you talk of a treaty and agreement? Still, as he is one of the greatest sovereigns of India, I consent to spare him for the sake of his station: but let him pay down one corror directly, and surrender all his elephants; and then we shall open all our ranks, and allow him to pursue his journey to his capital.* Such a message was highly disgraceful; but the Viceroy's circumstances were full as critical. Out of about three hundred five thousand horse that remained to him from the last engagement, most of them, on finding to what extremities he was reduced, were inclined to desert to the enemy, or at least to come to some terms with him; and it was after receiving such an intelligence, that the enemy's answer came to hand. It was in the presence of Djankiram, a man of merit, who kept the accounts of the army, figured amongst the truest and most zealous of the Viceroy's friends, and acted as his prime minister. On observing the Viceroy's silence, he took upon himself to speak first: "He observed that the few men that remained to his highness, were disheartened with their losses, and so surrounded by the enemy, that there was no possibility of any man's escaping with life, or of any one's obtaining a single day's subsistence: that the times required a compliance with the demands of the enemy: that elephants were no mighty objects in Bengal: that there were many better ones in his highness's offices at the capital, and as many more in the stables of his officers and servants: and after all, that there came year-

ly

“ ly a whole herd of them from his own dominions : as to the coror of rupees, that the treasury could muster forty lacs instantly; and that he took upon himself to find the sixty others.” Aali-verdi-qhan was highly shocked with the tenor of this advice: however he contented himself with answering, *That so long as his soul should stick to his body, he would never submit to such an infamy; and that he still hoped with the handful of men now under his command to give a good account of those free-booters, and to retrieve the honour of his arms: and why should he pay so much money to his enemy, and strengthen his hands by such an access of power? would it not be much better to bestow it on those that had accompanied him in that expedition, and had at all times been ready to shed their blood in his cause?* here he paused a while, and then turning to the minister, he added, *I am glad, Sir, to hear that you have so many lacs by you: then set apart ten of them; for I intend to distribute every rupee of them to my faithful officers, and to the bravest of my soldiers.* Having said this with a deal of composure, he dismissed the minister.

Aali-verdi-qhan refuses to ransom himself out of the hands of the Marhattas.

By this time the day was quite spent, and a night pitchy dark, had overspread the ground, so that numbers of the camp-followers, especially those that had lost their all or their master, availed themselves of the darkness to mix with the Marhattas; and none remained but noblemen, officers, men of known faces, and soldiers of character; and as Mir-qhair-ollah was passing from one army to another, and a report had spread of an approaching treaty, most of these also were looking out for an opportunity of making their private agreements. Amongst these was Mir-habib, a man of distinction, who being highly discontented with Aali-verdi-qhan, had already commenced a connection with the enemy, and waited only for a favorable opportunity to desert: for about the close of the night, the Marhattas had pitched a pair of colours in a conspicuous part, as a sign of quarter and forgiveness; from whence they were calling out, that whoever wanted to be safe in his life and property, had only to repair to it. At sight of the colours, those

that had not a spark of honour in their constitution, and were not ashamed of themselves, commenced under a variety of pretences, to steal off by whole bands; and this was enough to demolish the Viceroy without a single blow. Luckily that the Marhattas themselves provided against so general a desertion: for on observing that none of those deserters came, but with their hands full, they fell a plundering and a stripping them, and by such a proceeding effectually put a stop to any farther defection. The Viceroy finding it impossible to stop the torrent, or, to contrive an expedient to retrieve his affairs, quitted his tent in the middle of the night; and without any attendant, or any taper-bearer, he took Seradj-eddö8lah by the hand, and went on foot to Mustepha-qhan's tent, where he desired him to get up, as he had something to tell him. The general astonished at what he saw, and amazed at what he heard, got up in an instant, and going into one of the two recesses of his tent, he sat himself down, and asked what were his commands. The Viceroy answered: "*Hear me, friend Mustepha-qhan. Nothing is dearer to man than his life; but my situation is such now, that the easiest and the foremost business I have to do, is to die. Needless it is for you then to contrive far fetched expedients for the purpose of getting rid of me: are you dissatisfied with my person on account of some matters that have come to pass? Here I am, ready at your hand: with Seradj-eddö8lah, who is dearer to me than my own self. We are alone; dispatch us immediately: do your business at one stroke, and rid yourself at once of all your incertitudes. But if some remembrance of a friendship of long standing, and some gratitude for benefits received, have yet a place in your heart; and you can afford to forgive some transgressions of mine, that are now past; if you are inclined to stand by me in this desperate moment, then renew your engagements with me, and do swear a new that you shall not forsake me: this being the only way to make me easy on that head, and to leave me at liberty to think of what is to be done with the Marhattas; as I am firmly resolved to leave nothing unattempted rather than to submit.*" The general confounded at the suddenness

of

of the address, and moved by the importance of its purport, answered "that he
 " could not speak alone on those heads; but must consult the other officers, his
 " country men; and that then he would report their answer." The Viceroy,
 without being disconcerted by so much coldness, answered, *then do: I have no ob-*
jections: upon which the general sent to Shimshir-qhan, to Serdar-qhan, and
 to the other Afghan commanders, desiring their immediate attendance. As
 soon as they were assembled, he turned towards the Viceroy, and addressed him
 in these words: "Let your highness say to these officers what you have just said
 to your Soldier," and this being complied with, the assembly heard in silence,
 but said not one word. Upon this the general addressing himself to them all,
 spoke in these very words: "Brethern, why do you not answer? say what
 " you have in your minds. " To this both Shimshir-qhan and Serdar-qhan
 in the name of all the others, answered, "that he, Mustepha-qhan, being their
 " chief commander, and the principal man of their nation, whatever he should
 " answer, would be reputed their own answer." Upon this the general said:
 "Friends, since you want to hear my particular sense of this scene, I shall tell
 " you frankly: whatever I had hitherto in my mind, I have only had; and
 " it is past: at present my head, and life, and that of my family, and of who-
 " soever belongs to me, I have thrown at the feet, of that, my master and
 " cherisher; and so long as this head shall stick to this body, I have made a
 " legacy and gift of it to Aali-verdi-qhan, to his children, and to his family.
 " Nay, so long as Mustepha-qhan is alive, he shall acknowledge that his
 " head is made fast to the horse-shoe of the least of his highness's slaves (11),
 " I tell you so myself. But our case is not desperate; nor need you, my friends
 " to be informed anew of that adage so well known amongst us: that if *for-*

Aali-verdi-
 qhan recovers
 the affection of
 the Afghans.

(11) Care must be taken not to interpret this word slave, by American, or even by European, notions. Amongst the Turks, a slave, if a male, becomes in general the Son-in-law; and if a female, the bride of the family; and if an Habissinian or Nobi, he becomes the Steward of the house, and sometimes the bride-groom of it. In India, a slave, whether Georgian or African, becomes in general the right hand-man of the family; and hence the word slave signifies only a man thoroughly devoted to another; and this is the accustomed interpretation of the words *abd* and *gholam* in arabic, as well as in Turkish, Persian and Indian.

“ *ty Sabres, should come to agree together, they might bestow a kingdom.* We are
 “ still more than three thousand horse, and of course we can fight; for to look so
 “ dismayed, and with such an air of despair, is the height of cowardice. I hope.
 “ by the blessing of God, that we shall thresh those infidels, and that victory
 “ shall be ours after all. Now, gentlemen, I have told you my own mind: do
 “ take your own party, and act as you shall think best.” This speech having
 been listened to with attention, they all came into Mustepha-qhan’s opinion;
 and the party of standing by the Viceroy, prevailed. Upon which the gene-
 ral having by a sign (12), offered to pronounce a short-prayer on the
 resolution just taken, they all stood up, and joined him. The Viceroy pleased
 with what he had seen, returned to his tent, and slept a hearty nap. In the mor-
 ning he dispatched a particular friend of his, called Gholaam-aaly-qhan, with
 orders to visit the general, to examine by himself the looks of the Afghans, and to
 report his observations on that subject. Gholam-aaly qhan was a nobleman of
 character and distinction, who had for some time acted as Divan of the province
 of Azim-abad; and his son Y8ff8f-aaly-qhan, had espoused a daughter of Ser-
 effrazqhan’s, and was intimately connected with the Afghan General. This no-
 bleman, having repaired to Mustepha-qhan’s tent, spent some hours in conver-
 sation with him, and he was getting up, when a man sent by Shim-shir-qhan
 announced “ that the ensigns and standards they had asked from the Marhattas in
 “ the agreement of yesterday, would be coming to day; and that he wished
 “ to know what he intended to do now.” The General answered, by repeating
 the whole transaction of last night, and he ended by these words, *whoever is the*
son of an Afghan will stand by the agreement of yesternight. The Envoy having
 heard so much, returned to Aali-verdi-qhan, to whom he reported punctually
 every thing he had heard, to the great satisfaction of the Viceroy, who being

(12) This sign consisted in standing-up, turning towards the *Kybla* or Mecca, taking a composed respectful air,
 joining both hands upon the navel (this is for the Sunnies; for the Shyabs let them hang at length on both sides)
 and pronouncing with the lips only the *fateba* (i.e., the overture) or first chapter of the Coran, which an-
 swers to the Dominical oration, or the Lord’s prayer of the Christians.

now easy in his mind, resolved to fight the enemy : and truly to hear such expressions at so critical a moment from a powerful and zealous friend, never fails to inspire with fresh courage, and to afford an additional degree of daringness. The Viceroy then after a short consultation, resolved to cut his way through the enemy, and to effect a retreat to M8rsh8dabad; from whence he expected that after having dried his wings, and trimmed his feathers, he would be able to come out again, and to oppose a front to the enemy. By this time the evening was come again; and the Marhattas having planted upon a tree a field piece that had fallen in their hands in the first plunder of the Bengal camp, were incessantly showering balls throughout the enemy's ranks, as well as throwing an infinity of Rockets; so that nothing was heard throughout the army for the whole night, but cries and screams: in so much that Manic-chund, Divan to the Radja of Bardevan, having taken fright at such a scene of slaughter and confusion, thought proper to disappear at day-break, and to make the best of his way to his master. At that very time, and in the darkest part of the night, the Marhattas fell again upon the Bengal army, and attacked it on all sides; so that the Viceroy had hardly time to mount his elephant, and face the enemy. As the attack was so sudden, and every one had run to arms in confusion, there remained no possibility of arraying ranks, or of recovering from the disorder into which the troops had fallen, for the Marhattas had already penetrated to the very centre; and there Mir-habib who had not been as alert as the others, was surrounded, wounded in three places, and felled to the ground, where he was taken prisoner; after which he joined the Marhattas and took service with them. In this extremity, Häider-aaly-qhan, who managed the field artillery in the Viceroy's service, proved exceedingly useful, by sweeping down vast numbers of the enemy. On the other hand, Mustepha-qhan, and Shimshir-qhan, and Umer-qhan, and Serdar-qhan, and Rahem-qhan, although fighting pell mell, were performing such feats of prowess, and killing and wounding so many of the enemies, especially of the bravest and most forward amongst them, as effectually dam-

The Viceroy
fights his way
through the e-
nemy.

ped their ardor; and their commanders intimidated by so much valor, ceased to surround them on all sides; and forming themselves into one body a fresh, they wheeled round and fell upon the army's flank. This movement having afforded the Bengal troops time to take breath, they formed into a compact body, and continued their march to Catwa, fighting their way through the enemy's ranks. But now the remainder of the baggage was gone, and no clothes, no accommodation whatever, no victuals remaining at all, two or three thousand men, mounted on famish horses, and five or six thousand musqueteers, fainting with hunger and fatigue, were in full march, fighting all the way, and all the way starving. The Marhattas were every way round them, and every way harassing them with continual attacks, and eternal skirmishes that endlessly succeeded each other. But these did not dismay the Bengal troops: encouraged by the firmness of their General, and animated by the prowess of their commanders, they faced about every way, and constantly repulsed the enemy; and they went on fighting and advancing, and always intimidating the enemy by the brave actions they were continually performing. But these brave troops suffered as much for want of accommodations, as for want of victuals. Luckily that there is in the high road of Bengal to Djagennat, an infinite number of reservoirs of water and artificial ponds, which the Gentoos are at much expense in digging, as they reckon such works to be of the most meritorious kind; and luckily that every one of these ponds is always surrounded by a mound whereon grows a multitude of trees. As soon as night was coming on, after every day's march, one of these ponds served the whole army for their quarters: every one, whether soldier or officer, sat himself down on the bare ground, and after having stuffed his bowels with a repast of tree-leaves and field-grass, every one stretched himself at length, and took some rest, without having all this while any other carpet than the bare ground, or any other covering than a rainy sky: nor did any nobleman, or general in the army fare much better than the common soldier; for every night the Marhattas

was were wonted to surround the army, as they did by day, but without approaching so near as to be hit by a wall-piece; and as every tent, and every piece of baggage, and every utensil, as well as every sort of provision, had been plundered by them; and they made it a practice every morning to send scouring parties on every side, and to burn and sack every village at ten or twelve miles round; the Bengal army found it impossible to procure any thing eatable; and the men commenced despairing not only of victory, but of their very existence: jaded by daily marches and famished by daily abstinence, they could no more support themselves under their arms, and still less move with any vigour. Nor did the generals and mighty commanders prove to be in better circumstances themselves with all their gold, being barely able to support nature: and no more; the rest of the army crammed themselves with leaves and barks of trees, with ants and with such other food; particulars incredible, but which have been carefully recorded by that same Y818f-aaly-qhan, who has left us memoirs of his campaigns, and in particular, of that hazardous retreat. He mentions that in their three days march to reach Catwa, all he could do, was only to procure once about three quarts of a *feer* of *kichery* (13); and that this fare was shared between seven noblemen accustomed to all the delicacies of a plentiful table. Another day they were supported by seven pieces of *Sheker-para* (14), a kind of confectionary: another day the same men could procure only half a *feer* of carrion amongst themselves: and whilst it was broiling, several others came in for a single mouthful, which could not be refused. It was in such misery as this, that the Bengal army was advancing on its march. All the artillery, small and great, being lost; and the enemies constantly hovering about them, only at so much distance as could insure their not being hit by a wall-piece; nothing eatable could be procured on any terms. Such a state of things threw several commanders into

(13) A *feer* is about two pounds avoirdupois, and *Kichery*, is a mess of boiled rice mixed with pulse.

(14) No piece of *Shek-er-para*, weighs above half an ounce.

a kind of frenzy ; and once in particular, Mustepha-qhan angry and shocked at their not coming nearer, said to those about him (and it was already dark) “ What a shame to the Musulman religion, and what a disgrace to the Afghan name, that the vilest of those Decanians should surround and press you on all sides every day and every night ! And that instead of advancing upon those infidels, and seeking for a prompt delivery amongst them, you should suffer yourselves to be consumed by famine and by a lingering death ! ” Such a speech had it’s effect ; and those about him being most of them men of tried valor, they answered that “ he was their commander, and that if he would but lead them-on, they would follow. ” Mustepha-qhan finding them in this mood, took-up his sabre and bucler ; and he advanced at their head little by little, dispersing his troops in small parties, as if they had been only so many spectators. Over against them was a body of Marhattas, who far from expecting such an attack from famished wretches, were all naked, had actually layed their arms and clothes on the ground, and were preparing for their devotions and their victuals, little inclined to mind those that were drawing so near. Mustepha-qhan and his people availing themselves of this security, drew their sabres, and rushing at once upon those proud infidels, they killed so many of them, that the others fled with all their might, leaving their kettles upon the fire, victuals ready dressed just by them, and bags full of grain and provisions. Mustepha-qhan’s people seeing now the field free, loaded themselves with as much provision as they could carry, and returned to their camp ; and this having been observed by others, they took the hint ; and all returned loaded with grain and victuals : so that the famished ones, that had been fasting these three days, ate their fill that day, and recovered from their feebleness. This adventure however served to put the enemies upon their guard : having felt the blows of Mustepha-qhan’s people, they became more cautious, and did not press so close as before ; but nevertheless they kept still at a distance ; and it is through so much wretchedness, that the army was pressing it’s march to reach

to reach Catwa. In one of these marches the Bengal troops were suddenly attacked at the dawn of the day; and before the men had time to fall into their ranks, or the Viceroy to mount this Elephant, the Marhattas making suddenly a vigorous attack, at once penetrated every where; and it being impossible to form or to join in one body, every one fought by himself just where he chanced to be; and surrounded by the enemies, every one thought only of extricating his own self without minding how to succour his neighbour, or to come their lord's assistance. This Prince was himself under the same predicament, and fought alone, and surrounded: he was undone, unless a miracle was wrought instantly, and a miracle was wrought. Providence came that day to the assistance of the distressed by a memorable interposition. It was customary for two elephants loaded with standards and insignia, to march always precisely before the Viceroy's elephant: and their tusks were always loaded with a thick chain, with the jingling of which they seemed to amuse themselves (15). These animals seeing close to them so many strangers of an unusual appearance and smell, at once listened to the word of command given them by Providence; and skillfully managing their chain, they dealt it around at so dreadful a rate, that every stroke of their's carried destruction, to either man or horse. The Marhattas surprised at the strangeness of the sight, and not daring to approach, ceased to press so close; they retired at some distance, and gave time to a number of people to run to their master's assistance, and to surround his elephant. Other troops availing themselves of this moment of respite, hastened to the Viceroy's relief; and having now formed in great numbers, they fell upon the Marhattas that surrounded other corps, and extricated them likewise; and now the army having recovered from its disorder, the troops went on with their march; and the enemy that had broke amongst them, and had penetrated every where, was driven out again with much slaughter. It was through such scenes of misery, slaughter,

Two elephants
save the Ben-
gal army.

(15) This chain may be twenty feet in length, and of three hundred pound weight.

and wretchedness, that the army had to advance on a road strewn with mighty dangers, and infested by endless difficulties and unforeseen perils, but still repelling the enemy, and facing about every where. At last by the divine assistance they arrived at Catwa, a town and castle at two days south of M8r-sh8dabad.

As they were approaching, every one who had a beast to spare or a bag to muster, made haste to repair thither in expectation of finding as usual that town full of grain and all kinds of provisions; but the enemy had been before hand with them, and had a little before fallen upon that town, and sacked and plundered it, setting fire to such grain and provisions as could not be carried away. This was the resource found in that populous town; and the half burnt and half parched grain feasted the eyes of those famished wretches, like a table spread with a quantity of unexpected victuals. Aali-verdi-qhan having taken up his quarters at Catwa, wrote to Hadji-ahmed and to Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, Governors of the city, to inform them of his situation, and to request their taking care of the city and country, but above all their sending his second nephew Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan, to join the army immediately with a supply of provisions and every thing necessary. The news of this arrival filled that family with joy. At first they had entirely lost every track of Aali-verdi-qhan, as they had received no intelligence at all from him this long while: so that they had given him up for lost: when therefore letters came from him, and they heard of his being so near the city, they prostrated themselves before that Supreme one who finds means to bring together the parted and distant, and to save those that seem without resource; and they returned thanks to that providence, that had brought him back safe and in health, after so long a campaign. After which they dispatched Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan with a train of artillery, and a convoy of provisions, followed by all kinds of tents and every other necessary: and he in a few days joined his uncle with a reinforcement of old troops and his convoy of provisions. This sight overjoyed every one: and these

these famished men on beholding plenty succeed to hunger and distress, returned thanks to the Almighty disposer of events, and reposed themselves after so many toils and dangers. And now sutlers and merchants with provisions of all kinds flocked to camp from all parts, to the great amusement of the soldiers, who after having suffered so much from famine and hunger, now crowded to see the cart-loads of grain and victuals pass by, as if it had been some unusual sight, and some uncommon spectacle capable to excite curiosity.

So glorious a retreat could not fail to raise Aali-verdy-qhan's character: it overjoyed the hearts of his subjects, and intimidated his enemies. The Marhatta General was alarmed: matters were now greatly altered: the Viceroy had before him a country abounding with every thing that could be wished; and it became problematical even with the enemy, whether an army that had withstood him when struggling through so many difficulties, would not prove now an overmatch for his men? concluding therefore that it would be highly difficult now for him to keep his footing in Bengal, especially as the rainy season was set in, he had thoughts of returning home through the country of Birbohm. But this was opposed by Mir-habib, who by rendering continual services, and exposing continually his person, had found means to render it respectable, and to speak with authority. That man who had come a simple pedlar from Iran, his country, and was so low bred, as to be unable either to write or read, had now by dint of merit and services rendered himself considerable; he had found means to figure as a man fertile in expedients, and a General of much resolution. His animosity against Aali-verdi-qhan, would not allow, of his parting with Bengal on so easy terms; and he went so far as to tell the Marhatta General, that if money was his object, he (Mir-habib) would undertake to find a great deal of it for him, and that he requested only the disposal of some thousand Cavalry, with which force he would so far avail himself of Aali-verdi-qhan's lying at Catwa, as to advance suddenly to Mirshadabad, which is a city without walls, and
without

without any defence, where by plundering only Djaget-seat's house (16), he would bring him money enough to satisfy all his wishes. This advice having been supported by a strong reasoning, Mir-habib was furnished with some thousand picked horse, and he departed immediately on his expedition. But this could not be done so secretly, as that the Viceroy should not have intelligence of it; and as he knew the circumstances of his Capital, and did not trust to the talents of either his Brother or nephew for the defence of it, he determined to advance himself to its relief: and he set out directly with much expedition. But Mir-habib having already performed the journey in a single day (17) was before hand with him; and he had already plundered Djaget-seat's house, from whence he carried full two Corors away, and also a quantity of other goods. Some other parts of the city were also plundered; and Mir-habib having advanced as far as his own lodgings, took away his own brother Mir-sherif, but did not venture farther: For the Viceroy's palace, and also the quarter where lived his nephew, who was deputy governor; and likewise the quarter of Ata-ollah-qhan, a general officer, were filled with too many troops to be liable to insult; and mean while the enemy hearing that the Viceroy was at hand, instantly departed the city. It was about the middle of the day, and in the evening, the Viceroy arrived himself, to the universal joy of his friends, of his whole Court and of all his subjects. All these events happened in the month of Sefer of the year 1155 of the Hedjra.

The Marhattas commanded by Mir-habib plunders one part of M3rsh3-dabad.

It is remarkable that whilst the Viceroy was advancing to the relief of his Capital, the Marhatta General, intimidated by the violence of the rainy season in Bengal, was retreating towards his own country; and he was already

(16) This was Djaget-seat Anemchund, the richest subject of the world. His house which even now contains (1786) no less than two thousand souls, was plundered of full two Corors, or two Millions and an half sterling, (and what is singular, this was all in Rupees struck at Arcot;) but so amazing a loss which would distress any Monarch in Europe, affected him so little, that he continued to give government bills of exchange at sight of full one Coror at a time: and this fact is too notorious in Bengal to need any proof.

(17) About forty miles.

arrived

arrived in the Birbohom, when Mir-habib overtook him, bringing with him his two Corors, his booty and much good advice. He reproached the General for his quitting Bengal on so easy terms; and he even threatened to inform the Court of Nagp8r of his precipitaton and backwardness, should he persist in a retreat. Mir-habib spoke with a deal of warmth; but yet with so much reason, that the General convinced by his reasons, and overcome by his reproaches, retrograded at once, and in a few days encamped at Catwa: where Mir-habib who had pledged himself for the success of his expedition, undertook to procure provisions for the army. He had even the art to open a correspondence both with the Zemindars of the country, and with the inhabitants of H8gly, who after many letters and messages, had passed between them and the Marhatta General, at last made use of Mir-habib's mediation to come to terms. The principal of those were Mir-abol-hassen and Mir-abol-cassem, two eminent merchants, who were intimates with Mahmed-yar-qhan, half brother to the Viceroy, and governor of H8gly: these having taken care by Mir-habib's advice to arrive at H8gly in the night time, when the gates of the Castle were shut up, sent in a forged story as if they had some matter of importance to impart to the governor; and the credulous man having ordered the gate to be opened, about fifteen men got in with Mir-habib at their head; and as the Governor was alone, they seized his person, and put it under confinement. The conspirators had already applied to the Marhatta General, and had obtained from him an officer of consequence, named Siff-räo, with a body of troops, that had concealed themselves close to H8gly: to him they immediately sent notice of their having seized the governor; and the Marhatta officer making haste, arrived early in that city, and sat on the mesned of command, where he received the compliments of the citizens, after having contracted a close connection with the conjured. Their example was proposed by Mir-habib to many other Mogul merchants, who all followed it; so that the city was tranquilised. But this expedition having produced much money, which arose from contributions

He gets possession of H8gly.

or from the revenues of the country, or from the port duties of so celebrated a mart, the Marhatta General commenced perpending all the consequences and all the value of his sojourning in Bengal; and he resolved to make Catwa his headquarters; from that time Mir-habib became his prime Minister; and that transfuge who was a very active man, used to transact business some times at Catwa, and sometimes H8gly.

WHILST all this was passing in the southern parts of Bengal, the Viceroy, whose forces had been greatly reduced both by a campaign of twelve months and by labour, sickness and famine, concluded that as the rainy season was at hand, it would be too late to think of driving the Marhattas out of his country; and that the only party left for him was to content himself with conserving the city and its territory: he therefore came out and posted himself at some distance from it, in a suburb called Amany-gundj and Tarracp8r. But by this time the rainy weather had set in; and the river of Bhagraty ceasing to be fordable, Catwa remained on the other side; and the country on the M8rsh8dabad side was become safe from the enemy's incursions. But then, the same circumstance afforded them a full opportunity of extending their ravages all over the Bardevan, and the Midnip8r, pushing their contributions as far as Balisser-bender; and even this port fell in their hands. However all this did not intimidate either Mir-calender, the Fodjdar of Midnip8r, who found means to secure his fort; or Mir-maafom, the Deputy-governor of the 8ressa, the latter seeing the province attacked by numbers that were four times superior to his own, retired in the mountains, where he provided for his safety, but left his country defenceless. In this manner the 8ressa, the Midnip8r, the Bardevan, and part of the Radj-shahy, and even the town and district of Acbar-nagur-radj-mahal, became possessed by the enemy; and nothing remained to Aali-verdi-qhan, but the city of M8rsh8dabad, and the countries on the other side of the Ganga. The peaceful inhabitants of this great capital, who far from having ever seen such devastations, had

not

The Marhatta
ravage all Ben-
gal, South of
the Ganga.

not so much as heard of any such things; and whose city had not so much as the cover of a wall, became exceedingly fearful for their properties and families; and they availed themselves of the rainy season to cross over to the countries on the other side of the Ganga, such as Djehan-ghir-nugur, Malda and Ramp8r-bö8li, where most of them built themselves houses, and where they passed their lives. Even the deputy governor himself, Neva-zish-mahmed-qhan, crossed over with his family, furniture and wealth, and lived at Godagary, which is at one days distance from the city, and where he layed the foundation of an habitation for himself and family. Aali-verdi-qhan's furniture and effects were likewise sent over, from whence however the Deputy governor returned to the city, where he continued to live with his uncle Aali-verdi-qhan. This prince, resolved now to regain the hearts of his troops, and to reward them for their fidelity, made them a present of the ten lacs of rupees which he had promised, and by such a well timed liberalitay, he sowed in their hearts the seeds of love and gratitude.

It must be observed that on his arrival at M8rsh8dabad, the Viceroy had wrote to his nephew the governor of Azimabad, and also to the poor man's grand uncle Abdol-aaly-qhan, who was a Cousin-german of Aali-verdi-qhan's, to represent the state of things, and the necessity of their coming to his assistance with what ever forces and artillery they could muster, adding: that the safety of them all depended on his being enabled to repell the invaders. In the margin of the letter directed to Abdol-aaly-qhan, he wrote with his own hand these words, *if you take any concern in your old uncle's well-fare, this is the time to shew it.* The young governor was confounded and displeased at the command of repairing to Bengal, as he had spent a deal of time and all his money in his expedition against the Bodjp8r country, had compassed his end, driven the Zemindars away, taken possession of their home; and he was going to reap by proper arrangements all the benefit of so much toil and labour. Just at this time came the order from Bengal: he was

now

now obliged to leave all that work, unfinished, and to return to his capital, not a little embarrassed how to satisfy his troops for the arrears, and how to provide necessaries for the intended campaign. After a few days repose, he quitted the city in his expedition to Bengal, and encamped in the eastern Suburb at Djaaser-qhan's garden: there he sent for the poor man's father, Hedàiet-aaly-qhan the valliant, and for some other friends: and he held consultations with them about the means of getting rid of the army's arrears; and of providing for his future expedition. But nothing could be concluded on that subject for want of money. Such a state of things having put the governor upon looking out for expedients, he once took Hedàiet-aaly-qhan into a closet; and there he represented to him that it was incumbent upon him (the governor) "to repair by all means to the assistance of an
 "uncle who was the author of the fortune of his family; that his character
 "depended on his making haste to Bengal; but that he was at a loss how
 "to satisfy the army for their arrears; and uneasy at his being obliged to
 "leave behind a country lately conquered, and after all unsettled; he was
 "also embarrassed on the dispositions necessary after his departure, and was
 "at a loss on whom to entrust the important task of governing the country
 "in his absence, of collecting the revenues, and of keeping the inhabitants
 "quiet:" he added: "I reckon upon your wisdom and abilities: should
 "you be able to open some expedient, and to extricate me out of my dif-
 "ficulties, you would lay me under the greatest obligations: as unless I
 "satisfy the troops, they will neither follow me on my expedition; nor let
 "me depart the city; and on the other hand, you know that my honour, as
 "a foldier, and my character, as a dutiful nephew, depend, in the eyes of
 "the world, and in the eyes of my relations and kinsmen, on my repairing
 "in all haste and with a proper number of troops and necessaries, to the
 "assistance of a man, who is at once my master, my superior in command, and
 "moreover the founder and author of the welfare of our whole family and
 "race.

“ race.” Hedàiet-aali-qhan answered, “ that he reckoned himself to be
 “ one of the men most attached to his family and person; and that he
 “ would be ready to execute to the best of his abilities, such commands as he
 “ would lay upon him; as he felt the importance of the occasion, and would
 “ pride himself in his being able to lighten in that crisis, such part of his burthen,
 “ as would be allotted to him.” The governor pleased with this glimpse of hope
 answered “ that at present there were but two articles that galled him exceed-
 “ ingly : the first was, the discharging such arrears as were due to the troops ;
 “ a piece of justice, without which they would not suffer him to depart, and
 “ without which nothing could go forward : the second was, the propriety
 “ of his leaving the Government in such able trusty hands, as would put it in
 “ his power to appear before the Viceroy, his uncle, with such a number of
 “ troops and such a quantity of artillery, as would prove adequate to his sta-
 “ tion and rank : in one word, with such a force as might ensure the exertions
 “ expected from him, as a soldier, a general, and a worthy nephew of such an
 “ uncle. ” Such an unexpected proposal being liable to many difficulties,
 Hedàiet-aali-qhan answered, “ that he (the governor) could not be ignorant how
 “ circumscribed were his means, and how unadequate were his finances to
 “ the business of discharging the arrears due to the troops : that nevertheless,
 “ being zealously attached to his person, he was ready to go all lengths to serve
 “ him ; but that however the utmost he could do, would be to refer one part
 “ of those arrears to the principal receivers of the finances, and to borrow
 “ the other upon his own private credit from bankers and money-lenders;
 “ taking upon his own account the balance that would still remain due, and
 “ undertaking to come to an agreement on that subject with the army-agents,
 “ to whom he would pay it at such times as might be agreed between them ; ”
 he added, “ that as to the tranquility of the country, and the peaceable beha-
 “ viour of the inhabitants, he would take that article totally upon himself, and
 “ would answer for any one’s presuming to excite troubles, or or turning refrac-
 tory.”

tory." Such a speech could not but please the governor: it tranquillised his mind; and he answered by returning his acknowledgements and by assuring him that " this was what had always been uppermost in his thoughts: to satisfy the foldier; and to keep the country quiet, and that now, that such a point was secured, he felt himself perfectly at ease, and as he was thoroughly convinced that none but himself could discharge that important trust with honour, so he would not cast his eyes upon any other, for bestowing it, being sensible that no one but himself could render an important service in a delicate conjuncture." Hedâiet-aali-qhan having answered according to the propriety of the case, and the dignity of the two speakers, went home; and sending for his younger brother Mehdi-neffar-qhan, pay master-general of the forces, and for the several commanders with all the army-agents, he took upon himself the payment of their arrears but obtained their promises that they would stand by their governor in these times of difficulty, and would follow him in his expedition to Bengal. After this, he engaged them to leave their-agents with him, that they might receive their respective balances, and furnish their respective receipts. This difficult business having been brought to an end, and the governor being now easy in his mind, he made choice of a fortunate day, and set out for Bengal with five thousand cavalry, and about six or seven thousand infantry; carrying with him all his friends and favorites, and leaving the government of the province to Hedâiet-aali-qhan, to whom he gave the investiture of that office in a rich Qhylaât. He took with him my paternal uncle Mehdi-neffar-qhan, and also my maternal grand-uncle Abdol-aali-qhan, who having stretched every nerve to satisfy out of his private fortune all the men in his brigade, had engaged them by that effort to follow him to Bengal. It will not prove disagreeable to the reader to be told that a little before his departure, this nobleman had received another letter from Aali-verdi qhan, his kinsman, which contained the same invitation as the former, but where that Viceroy had wrote with his own hand in the margin this verse of the poet:

“ WĒ

“ WE expected from our friends some proofs of their attachment. ” And here he had stopped short, without adding the second verse which would have closed the distich; but when the two noblemen arrived at M8rsh8dabad with such numerous troops, and they went to pay their respects to their uncle, the latter on embracing Abdol-aali-qhan, closed the distich, and added :

“ BUT what we had been suspecting, proves to be an error. ”

NOTWITHSTANDING such a reinforcement, the Viceroy thought it prudent to assemble more forces; and he made additions to the several corps commanded by his Generals, taking care however to proportion the new levies to their respective merits. Mustepha-qhan's brigade, which was of five thousand men, was carried to eight thousand : his military degree, was raised to five thousand horse; and his name received the epithet or title of the *tyger in battle* (18); and to that distinction was added a fringed Paleki and a Kettle-drum. The title of *Bahadyr* or valiant was also conferred on Fakyr-ollah-beg-qhan and on N8rollah-beg-qhan, as well as on Mir-djaaser-qhan, who was allied to the Viceroy, and on H4ider-aaly-qhan, who was brother to Huss4in-c8ly-qhan; and to this distinction, was added the more substantial one of an augmentation on the numbers of their respective brigades. This latter favor, together with a higher pay, and several marks of honour and distinction, was likewise bestowed on Bahadyr-aali-qhan, who commanded the artillery; and on Omer-qhan, Shim-shir-qhan, and Serdar-qhan, who were Afghan officers. To these precautions was added that of repairing thoroughly the artillery both light and heavy, and of making some augmentations in it: and at the same time, some war elephants were trained to march 'close to the Viceroy's elephant and on his front. In short, no preparative that could be thought of having been omitted, Aali-verdi-qhan waited with impatience the end of the rainy season.

(18) Babr-Djung.

It was in this critical conjuncture that a nobleman from the Imperial court announced his arrival in Bengal: It was Mirid-qhan, who came on purpose for enforcing payment of the revenue of that country, which of late had proved much arrearred. The Viceroy who had objections both to his errand, and to his entrance into Bengal, requested his stopping at Azimabad, where he was to wait until the Marhatta invasion could be brought to a conclusion. Mean while, he wrote to the Emperor, (and this was Mahmed-shah,) “ That at
 “ present his faithful servant had it not in his power to forward, as usual, the
 “ Imperial revenue, being totally disabled by the Marhatta’s invasion;
 “ which also had obliged him to dismiss the valliant Mirid-qhan, from Mir-
 “ shadabad (a city now become the theatre of war,) and to desire him to
 “ tranquillise himself at Azimabad, until an end was put to the Marhatta ra-
 “ vages; but that with God’s blessing, he hoped, that under the fortunate auspices
 “ of his Majesty, he would give a good account of those free-booters; espec-
 “ ally if at such a critical time as this, it should be his Imperial pleasure to
 “ send some nobleman of the presence, or any other General to assist his own
 “ efforts: as it was feared that should any accident happen to him in this war-
 “ fare, the enemy would not fail to possess himself of the country, and to occa-
 “ sion thereby a heavy loss to the Imperial treasury and wardrobe, which both
 “ were chiefly supplied from the revenue and manufactures of Bengal:
 “ So that to assist his faithful servant, and to pay a proper attention to the
 “ state of things, were considerations highly important, and highly deserving
 “ the care of the Imperial mind; being in their nature such as would prove
 “ highly conducive to the welfare of the whole Empire.” The petition having
 been perused by the Emperor, and the truth of what it contained, ascertained
 beyond dispute, Mahmed-shah became apprehensive of the consequences; and
 he not only held consultations with his ministers, but he also asked Emir-
 qhan’s advice, although that nobleman was now far off at his government
 of Allahabad: such being the opinion entertained of his attachment and abilities,
 that

that the Emperor wrote him a letter with his own hand. Emir-qhan, in his answer, agreed with all the ministers on the propriety and necessity of succouring Aali-verdy-qhan, whose merits were unquestionable. The Emperor therefore wrote a letter, in his own hand to Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, son-in-law and successor to Saadet-qhan in the province of A8d. That General commanded in a country contiguous to those governed by the Viceroy of Bengal; and he was known to be master of a good army and a good artillery. The Emperor commanded his marching immediately to Aali-verdi-qhan's assistance; and he wrote also to Emir-qhan, to urge Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's departure, and to afford him every assistance in his power. He also wrote to Balidji-raö, who was commander in chief of all the Marhatta forces, and he laid his commands upon him to this purport: "That as great sums accrued to his benefit from the payments made him by the Imperial treasury on account of the Chöut; and those payments were likely to suffer greatly from the ravages made in Bengal by the insolent freebooters, sent thither by Rago-dji-bhoslah, under the command of Bha-fuker-pandet; it was proper he should repair thither to inflict such a chastisement on those plunderers as might deter them from ever renewing their insolencies again."

The Emperor sent Ab8l-mans8r-qhan and Baladji-raö to succour Bengal.

WHILST the Emperor was writing to the Viceroy, and exhorting the Marhatta General, Aali-verdi-qhan was assembling a numerous army with a great train of artillery; and having invoked the assistance of the Omnipotent succourer, he quitted the city, accompanied by his two sons-in-law, by his kinsman Abdol-aaly-qhan, and by a great number of persons of distinction, attached to his person. Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, his eldest nephew, was left in the city with his brigade and a sufficient number of troops for the protection of that Capital, in which he was appointed deputy governor: so that the Viceroy quitted the suburbs on the decline of the rainy season indeed, but whilst the ground was yet miry and intersected by an infinity of waters: such being his eagerness to fight Bha-fukur, and his settled resolution to drive those rava-

gers out of Bengal. In a few days march he arrived at the wished for spot which was over against Catwa, from which he was parted only by the Bagrawty, the river that flows at M8rth8dabad. For eight days together, the two armies cannonaded each other across the river, Bha-fukur being encamped on the other side; but he had also troops on this side the river which fronted Aali-verdi-qhan: the main of his army was on the other side with the Bagrawty on his flank, and the lesser river of Adji on his front; and so well was he served by Mir-habib, that he had also a sloop anchored on the middle of the river, the artillery of which played on the flank of the Bengal army, and proved a great bar to their crossing the River: so that Aali-verdi-qhan ordered his troops to cross over in a dark night upon a bridge of boats; after which they were to cross the Adji also, upon another such a bridge, and then to fall immediately on the Marhatta camp. As the country extending from the Adji on both sides of the Bagrawty was free from Marhattas, the Viceroy found means to form a bridge with large boats, and to carry his whole army over with a great deal of ease and in one night; after which the boats of the middle of the bridge being let down the stream, by one and two at a time, were ranged at the mouth of the Adji. It happened that the Marhattas were fast asleep, (and so was their fortune) and that no body did hail the boats, or if any did, the boatmen would give them an answer, and then would continue to slide down; by such a manœuvre, a number of boats were assembled in the Adji, where they served to make a bridge over it; and it was compleated a little before day break, at about half a coss above the Marhatta Camp; nor did the Marhattas get any intelligence of this double manœuvre, or even suspect any thing of either, and therefore they made no kind of opposition. The second bridge then being finished, Aali-verdi-qhan ordered his best commanders with their brigades to pass on foot and in silence: these were Mustepha-qhan, and Shimsfir-qhan, and Umer-qhan and Rehem-qhan, and Djaaser-qhan: he was himself at the head of the bridge, and recommended to them to cross over briskly, and to fall at once upon the enemy

enemy, without giving them time to recover from their surprize: assuring them at the same time, that whilst they should be engaged, himself with the main of the army would cross the river, and support them betimes, without giving the enemy time to form and to remedy the disorder. The scheme was well layed; and the bravest and most forward of the army, resolved to gain honour, were already passing over the bridge, when by an unforeseen accident, one or two of the boats in the middle of the bridge gave way, and sunk. The night being dark, and those on the bridge making haste to advance, whilst those behind were heedlessly pushing forwards, vast numbers of men fell in the water, and were swallowed up in the eddies of an unexpected death. It is credibly reported that fifteen hundred brave men lost their lives by that accident, and some say much more; it was after losing such a number of men, that the breach at the bridge became known, and people stopped short where they were, in expectation of seeing it repaired. But Aali-verdi-qhan was so well served, that the breach was made up instantly by other boats; and the foremost and bravest passed on eagerly. The day was going to dawn, and hardly two or three thousand men had passed: when these having consulted together, concluded that if they gave time to the enemy to take a view of their numbers, the affair might take a bad turn; but that if they should fall so immediately, every thing might be expected from the surprize. The valorous chiefs after a short consultation, took to their sabres and bucklers, and making a short prayer, they pushed on at full speed, and in an instant broke through the enemy's encampment. Cries arose immediately that Aali-verdi-qhan was arrived; and that mighty army of Marhattas, without farther inquiry and without further intelligence, mounted immediately and fled on all sides, whilst the braves that pursued them, with sabres as destructive and as sudden as lightening, were slaughtering them by shoals, and strewing the ground with their dead. Aali-verdi-qhan having crossed the river in his boats of pleasure, sent them back to ferry the people over; and in a little time elephants and canon, and heavy artillery, and numbers of troops were already on this side,

and

A bridge breaks
and occasions a
great loss of men
to the Viceroy.

The Marhattas severely handled.

and eager to engage the enemies. Their general having ranged them in order, departed immediately, overtook his vanguard, and continued the pursuit, making a great slaughter of the enemies. The Marhattas with all their boasts and all their power, having just taken-up what any one could carry upon his horse, left the remainder where it was, and continued flying incessantly, without ever looking behind, or taking notice of the small number and disorder of their enemies. After having run over a deal of ground and distanced their pursuers, some of them took time to breathe; and on looking behind, they observed the small number of their pursuers: upon which they turned about and skirmished in advancing about one mile; when having discovered that Aali-verdi-qhan was in full march with his whole army and artillery, ready to chastise them, they made no stand, but turned about and continued their flight.

AALI-VERDI-QHAN was the more inclined to ascribe this victory to the particular care of providence, as the accident happened to those unfortunate men at the bridge, might have been of the utmost consequence, his vanguard being composed wholly of their friends and relations: he therefore gave his troops some rest, and for that day encamped in the Marhatta camp. The dead bodies were fished-up; disengaged from their arms, and clothes; and washed and purified, according to law, and committed to the earth. It was observed that they had a blueish appearance. Doubtless it was because the weather was so very hot, it being the end of the rains; and because the unfortunate people being streightened by their arms and clothes, had undergone a kind of strangulation and choaking. This remarkable victory was obtained in the month of Shaaban of the year 1155 of the Hedjrah; and Bha-fukur sensible that he had done as much as could be done, took to the vallies of the Pachaet country: his troops in the utmost fear and confusion, evacuating the districts of H3gly, Bardevan, and Midnip3r, and all the other countries, which they had taken possession of: they were flying every where, and every where pursued by Aali-verdi-qhan, who intent on their destruction, did not take a day's

day's rest. Bha-fukur intimidated by the enemy's eagerness, struck into a tract full of brambles and thorny broken grounds, where the pursuers and the pursued were hardly differenced by a distance of six or seven coffes : in a few days they both arrived in a woody tract full of snakes and large red ants, but so incredibly beset with tall trees and underwood, that in no part of the forest could two horsemen pass a breast : in so much that it became impossible for the officers to know where their own men were : so far from being able to hear of the enemy. Bha-fukur unable to open his way to his own frontiers, through such a difficult country ; and at a loss how to manage with such an enemy at his heels, found himself obliged to leave the management of the march to Mir-habib ; and that able general found means to bring him back to the woods of Bishenp8r, from whence he proceeded through the plain of Chendracona ; and at last emerged about Midnip8r. From thence he sent troops to oppose Sheh-maaf8m in 8ressa : a commander who encamped at Hariarp8r with a handful of men. The Marhattas informed of the feebleness of his force, fell upon him, after having several times offered him terms, which he has often refused ; so that the brave officer listening only to his sense of honour and fidelity, came out of his lines with his handful of men, and after a furious engagement which cost much blood, he fell like a brave man, selling his life to the highest bidder.

MEAN while Aali-verdi-qhan informed that the Marhattas having given him the slip, had shown themselves in the Midnip8r, marched back from that difficult country ; and having crossed the whole Bardevan, he advanced with a resolution to attack them. So much expedition and perseverance could not but add to the fears of the Marhatta General, who far from being recovered from his Panick of Catwa, fled again from Midnip8r, and then to Balisser-bender (Balaffor) all this while without being able to get rid of his pursuers, as the Viceroy was continuing the pursuit, without giving himself any rest. The Marhatta tired with so much obstinacy, faced about and resolved to try his chance again. The action was warm, and cost the lives of a number of brave men.

on both sides; but still with a greater loss on the side of Bha-fukur, who finding that his difficulties encreased upon him, fled again, and was still pursued by the bravest and best mounted of the Bengal army: whilst the Viceroy followed with the main and an artillery of such large cannon, as would have shaken the globe. Matters came to such a pass, that the Marhattas often cut down, and then endlessly pursued, and often experiencing the heavy blows of the enemies, at last lost courage, and could not be brought to face about, or to stand their ground for half an hour; and their general eternally pursued, fled again, until he reached the last boundaries of Sreffa, and even through the frontiers of Decan; so that the Viceroy continued the pursuit as far as the Chilca-lake, where finding no enemy before him, and even no traces of their laguers, he returned, crowned with glory to Catec, where hearing how bravely and faithfully he had been served by Sheh-maasim, he sent for his family, condoled with it, and took care of its well being. The post of that brave man was given to Abdol-nebi-qhan, uncle to Mustepha-qhan, on whose recommendation his military degree was raised up to three thousand horse, to which distinction was added an augmentation in the effective men of his regiment, a kettle-drum, a fringed Paleky, and the title of Bahadyr or Valliant. A number of other troops were commanded to attend him; and he received strict orders to keep a watchful eye over the enemy's motions. This officer, on his nephew's invitation had quitted Samana, the place of his nativity and that of his ancestors; and with a choice body of men, composed entirely of his own nation, and officered by his own family, he had joined the army a little after the battle of Bardevan, where he had offered his services to the Viceroy. His brigade, which was of no less than five thousand men, was ordered to remain with him; and to this was added a body of musqueteers and as much artillery and necessaries as the time and place seemed to require. But as the man, being a rough soldier, understood very little of administration, the son of
the

the first minister Djankiram, was ordered to attend to that business under the title of his Pishcar or agent: this was Radja D8l8bram.

It was after those arrangements had already been taken, that news came of Ab8l-man8r-qhan's arrival at Azimabad, and also of some disobliging actions of his, which rendered it necessary to find a remedy, unless he came to some concessions. Such an intelligence having hastened the Viceroy's departure from Catec, he recommended the country and inhabitants to the care of the new governor, hung at his ear two pendants of wholesome advice, and set out to his return to M8rsh8dabad, carrying with him his two sons-in-law, his friends, and the rest of his troops. He traversed the Midnip8r and Bardevan; and it was in this last place he received intelligence that Ab8l-man8r-qhan had returned to his own country. This was at the very time when Aali-verdi-qhan was taking measures to drive him away: The singular behaviour of that pretended succourer had made such an impression on his mind, that some days before, he had put this question to Mustepha-qhan. "General, " said he, "you hear that the Viceroy " of A8d acts very much like an enemy: he disposes of every thing in my coun- " try, with as little ceremony as if he were at home: should it become necessa- " ry to make him change his manners, how are we to manage? for the Mar- " hattas find me work enough. " The general, without hesitation answered, *that he did not see there any matter that should require much deliberation; let your highness tear this man to pieces, added he, and let me scamper after the other; and rest assured that a good account shall be given of him.* Whilst the Viceroy was musing on this answer, news came that Baladjirao, the Marhatta generalissimo, having set out by the Emperor's order for succouring Bengal, was arrived at a few days from M8rsh8dabad; so that the Viceroy hastened his march, sensible that he would hardly have landed in his palace, before he should have been obliged to leave it again.

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By this time the news of the victories over the Marhattas, had reached the Imperial court; and the Emperor, perfectly satisfied with the Viceroy's conduct, wrote him with his own hand a letter full of encomiums, bestowed on him the title of *Hessam-el-mulk*, or sword of the kingdom; and added to that favour that of a rich Sabre and Poinard, with a *Serpiob* or circlet, and *Djica* or Aigrette, and a chaplet of large pearl; and not content with those honours, he sent him a whole dress of his own wearing. He at the same time complied with the petition he had sent up, and conferred new titles and new honours, on the principal persons of his family: Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, who enjoyed already the title of the valorous in wars, was decorated with that of the respectable of the Empire; Säyd-ahmed-qhan, already the impetuous in battles, was proclaimed that of the important of the Empire; and Zin-ed-din-ahmed-qhan, already the imposing in battles, became the honor of the state. At the same time the epithet of the honoured of the Empire was bestowed on Ata-ollah-qhan, and those of *qhan* or Lord, and *Bahadyr* or Valiant, on Mustepha-qhan, who also received the patents of a command of three thousand horse.

BUT as we have only been hinting at the extreme impropriety of Ab8l-man8r-qhan's conduct at Azimabad, it becomes our duty to explain that subject more fully. His arrival at that city happened about the beginning of Sherval 1155, and his departure about the end of the next month, precisely about the time when Aali-verdi-qhan finding no enemies to contend-with, gave the pursuit over, at the lake of Chilca, and returned victorious to Catec, where he received those letters from Azimabad that excited his indignation. But he was already in the neighbourhood of M8rsh8dabad, when there appeared on the opposite neighbourhood of that city, two Marhatta armies, full as dangerous the one as the other, although Rago-dji-bhossilah, who commanded the one was come to ravage Bengal, and the Generalissimo Baladjirão, who was at the head of the other, had orders to protect and succour that country: this was in the year 1156. It was at such a conjuncture, that those whom the prosperity

scarcity of our family had rendered jealous
scarcity of our family rendered jealous.

found means to throw a very invidious light on the nature of the connection between my honoured father, and Ab8l-mans8r-qhan. So slight an acquaintance, which had been forced upon him by the necessity of the times, was converted into a crime within Aali-verdi-qhan's hearing, and especially in the presence of his nephew, who was Governor General of Bahar. Such an imputation drew consequences after it, which did not fail to put an end to the intimacy that had hitherto subsisted between those illustrious persons, and to turn sentiments of love and attachment into mutual disgust and heart burnings: this misunderstanding happened in the following manner. As soon as the rainy season was over, and the miry roads were already drying up, Ab8l-mans8r-qhan set out of A8d his Capital, and advanced towards Azima-bad: he was at the head of a very respectable force, consisting of about ten thousand Hindostanies, all stout men, well mounted, and well accoutred; and seven thousand Moguls, all well armed, and all mounted on horses of their own country: these were mostly deserters from the army of Nadyr shah; all old soldiers, accustomed to long marches, and frequent successes: he had besides a numerous artillery well served (19); and it was followed by a camp amply furnished with every thing that could be desired. On his setting out he wrote in these terms to Emir-qhan, Viceroy of Ilah-abad, who was his friend and patron; " your respectful friend on his Majesty's special command, backed
 " by your own advice and request, is going to succour the Viceroy of Bengal, who is hard pressed by the Marhattas. But as such an expedition shall
 " to all appearance be liable to a variety of difficulties and obstacles; and on
 " the other hand, it is well known that my own government is a continual
 " scene of insurrections and troubles, and full of Zemindars, accustomed to in-
 " subordination and independence, whose refractory necks of course require

(19) These Expressions of our author about artilleries well served, ought not to mislead the reader; for although those expressions occur frequently, it is certain that all those artilleries were as cumbersome and as ill-mounted and served as were the artilleries of Europe three hundred years ago. It is only since the year 1760, that some Indians have put themselves upon the footing of having an artillery mounted and served nearly in the European manner; although it is indubitable that they had gunpowder and fire arms so early as five thousand years ago, as it is indubitable that silkworms, Grecian fire or gunpowder and Fombikinus, or Pambakinus, that is Pamback or Cotton came together from India to Europe in Justinian's time, about twelve centuries ago.

“ continually a curbing hand ; my situation at the very setting out becomes
 “ perilous. I can neither leave my Consort and family amongst them, nor
 “ carry them decently along with me ; nor do I possess or see about me, any
 “ such place of shelter, where I might leave them with safety : your humble
 “ Servant supplicates, therefore, that you vouchsafe him the fortress of
 “ Chennar; after which favor your respectful suitor, having his heart set at ease
 “ about these two delicate articles, shall proceed with peace of mind on his
 “ expedition.” Emir-qhan on perusing that letter, complied with the request;
 and sending Ab8l-mans8r-qhan the patent of governor of Chennar, he ordered
 his own governor to evacuate the place, and to deliver it to him. Ab8l-man-
 8r-qhan furnished with such credentials, threw a bridge of boats on the Ganga,
 at Banares; and having crossed over, he went with his whole family to see and
 admire the fortress of Chennar (20), after which he placed in it a garrison and
 a Governor of his own, and continued his rout to Azimabad, together with
 his Consort and family : his design being to send them back immediately
 to Chennar, should there be a necessity of fighting the enemy at Azima-
 bad. He marched with a pomp equally warlike and imposing. The poorman’s fa-
 ther, Sēid Hedaiēt-aali-qhan Bahadyr, was at that time Deputy Governor of the
 province of Azimabad, where he soon received from his master Zin-eddin-
 ahmed-qhan, a letter in these terms : “ Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, *the impetuous in*
 “ *Wars*, is commanded by the Imperial court to come to the assistance of his sub-
 “ lime Highness, the formidable in battles, who is the intrepid of the state, and
 “ the sword of the Empire. Whenever that General shall have come near the
 “ City, you are to go out to meet him, and to do every thing which you shall
 “ deem proper for receiving, entertaining, welcoming, and obliging him; and
 “ let there not happen any thing that may give him displeasure.”

As Ab8l-mans8r-qhan was approaching, a panic seized all the inhabitants

Ab8l-mans8r-
 qhan, marches
 to succour the
 Viceroy of Ben-
 gal.

(20) Chennar, or as it is pronounced by the Natives Chennar-gur, although a fortress upon a rock, as are almost all the Fortresses of India, is not to be compared to Gōaliar, Rotass, Gandicotta, and so many others. It has no ground within itself capable of furnishing for years together to the subsistence of a garrison; nor has it so many conveniences. Nevertheless it is so happily seated on a neck of land, almost surrounded by the Ganges, that it commands effectually that river, and the plain on both sides of the water. It is about fifteen English miles from Banares.

of Azim-abad, who dreaded the Character which those deserters from Nadyr-shah's army bore all over those parts for their insubordination and their ferocity. This character of their's was so well known, that the Citizens were as consterned, as if they had been called up for the last judgment; they had heard of the cruelties exercised at the General massacre of Shah-djehan-abad, and knew that their deputy governor, although furnished with a body of troops suitable to his office and station, was by no means equal to a contest with so formidable a guest, who was followed by an unbridled soldiery, of whose fury and resoluteness they had conceived the highest opinion. Nor was the Deputy-governor himself without his apprehensions on that account, as he had not the least connection with that General; and the necessity of providing for his own honour, dictated the propriety of seeking out some mediator. Luckily for him, he now recollected that M8rid-qhan, the nobleman sent from court, and relegated by Aali-verdi-qhan at Azimabad, was a Séyd of the race of the Tebatebas, as well as my honored father himself; and as this circumstance had soon produced an acquaintance which had occasioned much intercourse, and then a strict intimacy, he was thought by my father the fittest person for the office of introducer and mediator with Ab8l-man8r-qhan: for he was himself a lord of the presence, and had been at Dehly a great friend of Ab8l-man8r-qhan's. To M8rid-qhan therefore he disclosed his apprehensions in a distant indirect manner; and this nobleman having quieted his mind on that head, took upon himself the task of introducing him to that General: with that view he quitted the city, and went to meet that new comer, from whose camp he in a few days wrote to my father to inform him "that he might come by all means, without any fear, and without giving himself the least uneasiness on what he had so much apprehended." This letter was accompanied by one from the General himself, which was conceived in terms full of kindness, and expressed a desire to see him. The Deputy-governor encouraged by these letters advanced as far as Monir, where he paid his respects to

to the General as he was passing, by whom he was received and spoke to with much kindness and affability: after which he came with his retinue to Azimabad, where one of Ab8l-man8r-qhan's first order, was *to clear the castle of every thing and person belonging to the Governor General, Zin-eddia-ahmed-qhan.* He had already sent a guard of Moguls to take possession of the gates: so that it became impossible to bring any thing out of the Governor's lodgings; however, when night came on, my father sent me with a number of trusty men, who found means to bring together in one place the furniture and things belonging to his master; from whence they were carried with silence and precaution out of the castle to a house that had been appropriated to that service, but from whence it became necessary to carry them farther again into a house close to our own lodgings, where they remained safe. The next day Ab8l-man8r-qhan made a pompous entry into Azimabad; and without stopping any where, he repaired to the castle, where he placed a number of his own men, after having taken a slight survey of it; from thence he went to perform his devotions at the Mausoleum of his maternal uncle, (monument that goes by the name of Saadet-qhan's father;) and after having religiously visited the place, and pronounced a short prayer, he returned to his camp, which had been pitched at Bakyr-poor. Thither he was followed by every one of the Crown-officers, by the heads of office, by all the Manfubadars, and Zemindars, and Djaghirdars, and by all the men of distinction in the city, who made it a point to figure amongst the foremost of those that presented him their Nuzurs and respects. But as he was exceedingly proud, and assuming, he barely received their homages, without paying any more attention to the highest, than he did to the lowest, of them; a disdainful behaviour that made every one of the visitors return home very much dissatisfied with the success of this visit; nor did he use the Governor General less cavalierly. There were then at Azimabad some war-elephants perfectly well trained, which the Governor General had left there as a resource against the Marhattas;

Overbearing behaviour of Ab8l-man8r-qhan's.

Marhattas; but Ab8l-man8r-qhan no sooner heard of them, than he sent for my honored father, and desired his making those animals over to him on what price he chose to fix upon them. Hedàiet-aaly-qhan answered in these very words: “ My lord, neither my master is a merchant, nor is your servant his shopkeeper. You are a mighty lord and commander, and so is my lord and commander: moreover there intervenes between you and him so much intercourse and union, that it would be injurious to think that two such illustrious personages can become strangers to each other: of course whatever belongs to him, belongs also to his friend: your excellency therefore may take whatever you please; but I, as his servant, cannot give any thing, without an express order from him.” To this speech no regard was paid; and Ab8l-man8r-qhan having cast the eye of covetousness upon so small an object, as three or four elephants and three or four pieces of cannon, sent for them by his own people, and kept them in his camp. Such proceedings having been reported at M8rsh8dabad, displeased Aali-verdi-qhan so much, that he wrote him a letter in a proper style, where he desired him to forbear coming to M8rsh8dabad, as it would be better for him to return to his own government. He also sent up a petition to the Emperor purporting, that he did not stand in need of such assistants, as by God’s blessing, and under his Majesty’s auspices, his servant would shew what he could perform; and that as no cordiality could evertake place between such a succourer and himself, his faithful subject, he hoped that Ab8l-man8r-qhan would be ordered back to his own government.” The Emperor informed of the matter, wrote to Ab8l-man8r-qhan, commanding his returning to his post; and in giving the letter to that general’s agent, he intimated his pleasure that his master should depart immediately on the receipt of it. But before this order could arrive from the capital, Ab8l-man8r-qhan was already informed of it’s contents, as well as of the effect which Aali-verdi-qhan’s representation had made on the Emperor’s mind: He had likewise received in-

telligence by the same channel that Baladjirao, was by the Emperor's own command putting himself in motion, and that he would soon be expected at Azim-abad in his march to Bengal, where he was directed to succour Aali-verdi-qhan. Now as there subsisted much enmity between that general and Baladjirao on account of the bloody defeat given to Baladjirao's father by Saadet-qhan, and of the many Marhatta commanders which had fallen in the victor's hands, and were still kept confined by his Son-in-law Abul-manfir-qhan; the latter who suspected every one of Baladjirao's motions, thought it best to be arrived betimes at Ahd, his own capital. Quitting therefore Azim-abad without loss of time, he advanced to Monir, where he crossed the Ganga on a bridge of boats, which he threw on that river; from whence he by long marches proceeded to his own country; and it was from Monir he dismissed the Deputy governor, who out of respect had accompanied him so far.

The author's
father is misre-
presented.

THIS visit of his to Abul-manfir-qhan, although dictated by necessity, was represented by envy and detraction in a very bad light: it was varnished like wile with an imputation of such sinister purposes, as had never so much as entered into that worthy man's mind; and as on the other hand both Aali-verdi-qhan, and his Nephew had already suspicions against Mirid-qhan's journey and errand; and they were much displeased at some vile actions and some very improper behaviour of Abul-manfir-qhan's; the accusations against the Deputy sunk the deeper in their minds as being seemingly founded on facts uncontroverted. Both therefore were incensed against him; and the young governor-general more than any other; but this however he kept concealed in his mind, reserving it for a proper opportunity, which he hoped would arise whenever his uncle should have defeated and expelled the Marhattas: at which time he would be freed from the necessity of foreign assistance. However notwithstanding so much dissimulation he at once substituted Ray-Chintamun-das his Divan, to Hedayet-aali-qhan in the office of Nàib or Deputy-governor of Azim-abad; but this minister falling sick after his arrival at
that

that city, where he died after a short illness, the city remained for some time without ruler or a man in power. It was at this critical moment that news came of Baladjirao's approach with no less than forty or fifty thousand horse. And what added to the terror of the inhabitants was, that by this time it became known that all along his passage he had exacted contributions; and that whoever had payed with a good grace, had had his person, lands, and country, spared; but that whoever had pretended to stand upon his defence, had not failed of having his person plundered, his country ruined, and his tenants, put to the sword. (21) Such was the fate which awaited a nobleman called Ahmed-qhan, who was grand son to Dâ8d-qhan Coréishy, and held in fief the two districts of Incha and Gow in the province of Azim-abad, where he lived in Dâ8d-nugur a town which had been founded and peopled by his grand father. This man thinking that the Marhatta general, intent on going to Aali-verdi-qhan's assistance, would not lose any time in forming sieges, took shelter in Ghô8ff-gur a fort which he had built and fortified himself, close to Dâ8d-nugur, and where he retired with his family, troops and all the merchants and moneyed-men of the country, resolved to stand upon his defence, and to pay no contribution. Baladjirao informed of this, sent troops to chastise the man, and to destroy his fort. The troops advancing first against Dâ8d-nugur, sacked and burned it to the ground; and then made use of the bricks and other materials to fill up the ditch of the Fort of Ghô8s-gur, which was close to it, and which they besieged immediately. This fight having put an end to Ahmed-qhan's pride, and also to his presence of mind, he made his escape through one of the gates; and now convinced of his impotence, he availed himself of the mediation of some merchants within the Fort, to make his peace with the Marhattas, and to ransom his life for fifty thousand rupees.

SUCH violences and extortions soon came to the ears of the citizens of Azim-abad, who became distracted with fears and apprehensions: they assembled in

(21) What are we to think of those Viceroys and those Generalissimos sent by an Imperial order to succour a Province of the Empire; and what are we to conclude from their treating every where that Province as an enemy's country? that the Empire had lost all that respect formerly payed to it, and administration, its energy; and of course that a revolution was at hand, as in fact it soon took place.

great numbers about my honoured father's house, and the principal of them represented "that he was the only man of weight and authority in the city; and of course the only one that could exert himself so effectually, as to provide for the honour and safety of those multitudes of honest folks that lived within those walls." For all answer Hedaïet-aali-qhan, who had already sent his family on the other side of the Ganga (22), advised them all to secure their properties and families in the same manner; after which he promised to stand by them at all events. This advice having been complied with, that noblemen waited anxiously with all the inhabitants in expectation of what might come to be their fate. In this general consternation heaven seemed to have suscited a Saviour for them. There happened to be in those very days at Azimabad, a very extraordinary man (to whom may God have granted letters of naturalisation in the kingdom of Paradise!) this man was Séyd-aalim-ollah, Tebateba, Grand-father of me, the most inconsiderable of mankind, who chanced to arrive in that city at a time when nothing was to be heard of or seen, but uproar and consternation. In vain did his Son, our honoured Hedaïet-aali-qhan, supplicate his highness to cross the Ganga with the others, and to take his abode on the other side; the venerable nobleman refused to listen to such an advice, both because it was derogatory to his personal dignity, and because it would betray a lack of confidence in the resources of providence. But as in consequence of his skill in the interpretation of the word of God, he seemed to be taught and inspired by God himself, so as to have some fore-knowledge of his ineffable ways; so he was far from taking fright, as others had done; and he incessantly exhorted them to tarry in the city, as no harm would befall any one of them. One day he mounted very early his horse, and against his custom, he went alone, and so far as to take a circuit of the whole extent of the walls; and on his return, as if he had made some discovery, or had received some inspiration from above he bid my father

(22) This river is a sufficient Barrier. It consists in the driest weather of three streams, divided by sands, but fifteen or twenty feet deep; and in the rains those streams unite, and form a sheet of water several miles broad upon a depth of six, seven and ten fathoms; and the stream runs then at the rate of from seven to twelve miles per hour.

be of good cheer, exhorted him to encourage the inhabitants, and steadily assured them, that no one amongst them would feel any thing of the storm which was drawing near. Thanks, infinite thanks be to God, that the event happened precisely as it had been fore told! such was that admirable personage; and were we to mention every thing we know of the dignity of his behaviour, and of the wisdom of his words, that mention would soon swell into a complete volume. But as the humblest and most inconsiderable of mankind, has ventured to write a piece of verses under the title of the *Priest's humanity*, in which I am endeavouring to give a feeble and very inadequate idea of his extraordinary character, and of a few of his very singular sayings and actions, I flatter myself that the curious shall condescend to recur to that small performance: at present our business is to mention the singular manner in which an attentive providence has vouchsafed to interpose a finger in this unexpected event. It happened by the emanation of divine mercy, and the merits of his Majesty the prince of messengers, as well as those of his pure and immaculate offspring, that a gentleman, named Govind-dji-nàic, who was a distant relation of Baladjirào's, chanced then to be occupied in mercantile matters, and in the banking business at Banareff, from whence he had extended his concerns to Azimabad and to the country adjoining; in both which capacities he had chanced to be several times employed by my honoured father in his times of power and prosperity. In this manner he had made no inconsiderable gains, and had obtained a variety of benefits that had produced an honourable well-being for him. This man who had never forgot the many favours he had received, and was thoroughly sensible of the truth of that adage, that *benefit is not to be requited but by benefit*; resolved to avail himself of his relationship, in order to procure some advantage to his ancient benefactor. Full of this idea, he made haste to quit Banareff, and to repair to Baladjirào's camp, where he exposed to that generalissimo his kinsman, how much he had been benefited by Hedáiet-aali-qhan's patronage, and how much it was

incumbent upon his gratitude to avail himself of the present opportunity to make some return. He ended his request by supplicating the generalissimo "to use that nobleman in such a manner, as that the load of gratitude that rested so heavily on his kinsman's shoulder, might become lighter at least, if not taken away altogether." The request pleased the generalissimo: he praised the motives of his kinsman's eagerness; and he wrote immediately to Hedáiet-aali-qhan a letter full of kindness and encomiums, in which he exhorted him to stay fearlessly in the city, and to tranquilise the minds of the inhabitants, as for his sake, he was resolved to offer no injury to any one of them. Not content with that, he accompanied his letter with several articles of the richest and most curious manufactures of Decan; and thanks be to God, he proved as good as his word; for it pleased his divine mercy out of regard to the merits of my pure-minded and immaculate bodied, ancestors, to keep at a distance that hurricane of evils which was going to break upon the city of Azimabad. Thanks be to the divine mercy, and to the merits of his messenger, that the venerable personage we have been mentioning with so much respect, having in his many peregrinations chanced to make a long sojourn at Azimabad, every tongue became busy in publishing adequate encomiums on the purity of his morals, and the benignity of his behaviour and deportment. Nor can it be denied but that it is to the merits of that venerable personage, and to the opinion entertained by all ranks of the benefits derived from his presence, that the world must ascribe that constant regard and attention every where shewn to me the most inconsiderable of mankind, but his grand son, and to every one of his relations and descendants. It is to the influence of those merits of his, that I ascribe the many signal deliveries and providential escapes through which I have been more than once rescued from the most imminent dangers.

The city of Azimabad rescued from impending devastation and plunders.

"It is before his death that the worthy man's merits must be known, and placed to his account;

"For none deserves to be deemed such, but he that carries such a character to the very grave.

AFTER

AFTER a digression which the reader shall set to the account of the importance of the personage, and the singularity of the event, we shall return to the thread of our history. Baladjirao sensible that an army of Marhattas would never remain under controul at the sight of plunder, and anxious to approve himself as good as his word, quitted Dä8d-p8r; and striking to the right, he continued his route by Ticarry and Gáya, behind Azimabad, and at some distance from that city, through Manp8r and Bahar, from whence he came again into the high road by Mongher and Baghalp8r: two populous towns, the territory and inhabitants of which suffered exceedingly from the passage of his troops. Numbers had fled to the other side of the Ganga; but a lady of distinction, relict of Ghõ8s-qhan (a general of great character whom we have seen slain at the battle of Gheriah) being unable for want of means to cross the river with her numerous family; and having it not in her power to provide otherwise for her safety; resolved to stand her ground and to defend her honor to the very last drop of her blood. This Heroine called her relations and dependants together, exhorted them to perish rather than to behold their women defiled or even attempted; and finding them willing, she shut-up the doors, of her houses, barricaded her quarter, and arming her dependants with a small number of rusty musquets then at hand, she prepared to defend herself against that mighty host of foes. All the inhabitants had fled, or had submitted to defilement, and sack, and plunder; and it was only from that cluster of ruinous dwellings, that some opposition was exhibited, and a report of some firing was heard. The plunderers surprised at so unexpected an appearance, surrounded the refractory quarter, and were in doubt whether they should force it or not; for the firing went on, and some of their men were falling. But mean while intelligence of this strange event having reached the ears of the Marhatta general, it excited a sense of admiration mixed with curiosity. Upon enquiry about that strange event, he was informed, “ that the widow of a renowned general, being through poverty una-

Singular resolution of a Lady at Baghalp8r, who defends her quarter and house against the Marhatta army.

“ able

“ ble to provide herself with lodgings and subsistence on the other side of the
 “ water, had resolved to bury herself under the ruins of her house, rather than
 “ to suffer any defilement : that she had barricaded her quarter, and with a
 “ handful of dependants, whom her resolution had roused, she was defending
 “ it so well, that the plunderers, little accustomed to find so much resistance,
 “ had not dared to attempt it, and were only looking at it from afar.” The
 intelligence pleased Baladjirao : he was astonished to find so much daringness in
 a woman ; and not content with praising her resolution, he sent her a kind mes-
 sage, which he accompanied with a present of some curious stuffs of Decan,
 and some curious brocades ; and to put her house and quarter out of all dan-
 ger, he sent a detachment of his body-guards to take charge of it, with orders
 not to stir from thence, until the whole army should be gone and far off. He
 added, that they would answer to him for any insult she might suffer. After
 giving this order he continued his route by the hilly country ; and the guards
 having strictly executed their orders, took a respectful leave of the heroine, and
 rejoined their main. The Marhatta general continued his route through hills
 and woods, and after some days march, he emerged in the plains of the Birbo-
 hom, which is a tract in the neighbourhood of M8rsh8dabad.

RHAGO-DJI-BHOSSLAH was on his side approaching that city. That
 prince incited by Bha-fukur his general, had set-up another army, with which
 he had again invaded Bengal, near the capital of which he was now encamped,
 whilst Baladjirao was on the other side ; so that the unhappy country was in prey
 to two armies of free-booters at one and the same time, and seemed to be co-
 vered by an innundation. Baladjirao being yet encamped below Baghalp8r,
 Aali-verdi-qhan gave him the meeting there at the head of a numerous army ;
 and on hearing that the generalissimo was just landed in his quarter, he went to
 make him a visit. It was on the bank of the Ganga. As soon as he was de-
 scribed, the Marhatta general advanced to meet him, and having embraced
 him according to the Hindostanee custom, he brought him by the hand to his

tent

Ambiguous
 meeting of the
 Viceroy of Ben-
 gal with the
 Marhatta gene-
 ralissimo.

tent where he made him sit close to himself on the same musnud ; so that those mighty personages gave an image of the conjunction of those two celestial bodies, Mars and Jupiter. After the usual compliments, and the customary ceremonies and presents, they parted ; and Aali-verdi-qhan returned to his camp. This ambiguous visit was returned the next day ; and the Viceroy of Bengal having advanced a great way to meet his guest, brought him to his tent of audience, where he made him sit on the same Musnud with himself ; and Paan (Beetle,) and essence of roses having been served, a number of trays were brought in, which contained a variety of the most curious and costly stuffs ; and to these were joined a number of plates of gold, strewed with a variety of jewels and gems ; after which came a chaplet of pearl and a lofty elephant. Some words were likewise exchanged about the necessity of quieting the country, and opposing Rhago-dji ; after which Baladjirao took his leave and returned to his camp. The next morning the Viceroy sent a message about the propriety of driving Rhago-dji out of Bengal. The other answered the proposal, by bringing forward the *chout*, or annual tribute which was these many years due by the province of Azimabad ; and he added some complaints about its not being paid this long while. It was Mustepha-qhan, and the Viceroy of Bahar, who were entrusted with the message and answer ; and as necessity knows no laws, the total of the outstanding debt was cast up ; and although it amounted to a mighty sum, payment was promised. The Viceroy took from thence occasion to propose that the two armies should march jointly against Rhago-dji ; and at the same time he beat the general, as if intending to march directly. But this was forbidden by the generalissimo, who sent a person of consequence to carry the message ; and as it became expedient to comply with the injunction, the Viceroy in a few days paid down the whole of the outstanding debt, and took occasion to renew his request of marching against what he called the common enemy ; that is, against Rhago-dji. This Marhatta Prince who now lay encamped
between

between Catwa and Bardevan, was soon apprised of this union of concerns, true or apparent; and thinking himself an undermatch for such powerful adversaries, by one of which his troops had been so often conquered, he thought it expedient to march off, taking his route by the western tracts of Bengal. The Viceroy informed of this retreat, crossed the Bagraty, and pursued vigorously. But after one or two days march, he received a message from Baladjirao, which requested, "His not parting with him, as he conceived that the Bengal army would not be able to overtake the enemy:" he added, "that if he persisted, he would be obliged to take another road, in which case he reckoned that in a few days he would soon overtake the flying enemy, and give a good account of him. And really he marched off the next day, and having soon overtaken Rhago-dji, he gave him a defeat, and forced him to quit the plains, and to retire through the chains of western hills, from whence the latter expected to reach his own frontiers by following certain vallies: this retreat he effected, but it was at the expence of the greatest part of his baggage, which he left by the way. This flight of the master having struck a panick in his Lieutenant Bha-fukur, who was encamped at Midnip8r, he raised his camp immediately, and took to the mountains that border on 8ressa, flying all the while in the utmost disorder and consternation. His distress afforded Baladjirao a full opportunity to retire on his side. This generalissimo under pretence of executing the Imperial order, and succouring the Viceroy, had in reality put him under contribution as well as his whole country; and having now received the arrears which he pretended, and carried some other points, he retired to his dominions in Decan: and his camp and equipage were already far off, when his Vekil or agent, who had tarried behind to put the finishing hand to some affairs that had been entrusted to his care and to Mustepha-qhan, presumed so far on the prevalence of the Marhatta power, and the feebleness of the Empire, as to make use of improper expressions, and to talk in a high strain. This being more than could be borne by that General, who

was naturally sudden and haughty, he threatened the agent with getting his clothes torn to shivers upon his back; and this order having been put in execution instantly, the agent retired covered with shame and disgrace, but with a quick resentment at the insult that had been offered to his person and character: he talked of breaking the conferences and returning to his master; but as such a step would have produced very heavy consequences, the Viceroy sent for him, excused his General's improper behaviour on the natural hastiness of temper incident to a rough soldier, soothed his mind, and then made him a present of a rich *Qhyla*t, to which was added, a horse, and some other articles that disarmed his resentment: By this time *Baladjiräo* was already at some day's journey; and the agent having been dismissed with high demonstrations of regard and honor, made haste to rejoin his master. When he was gone, the Viceroy sent for *Mustepha-qhan* and with a deal of seriousness he informed him that his proceeding might have had very grave consequences, and was of a nature to excite *Baladjiräo's* resentment. "Pray, My Lord," answered the General; "is it so? then in such a case your highness, who is my lord and master, might have taken *Rhago* to task, and left the other to me; or else, your highness may give a banging to *Baladjiräo*, and turn *Rhago* to me for a hearty flogging." All these events happened about the end of *Maharrem* and the beginning of *Sefer*, in the year 1155 of the *Hedjra*. And now *Baladjiräo* being gone, and there being no probability of *Rhago-djis* recovering so soon from his loss of men and money, the Viceroy satisfied with the success of the campaign, returned to his capital; from whence he soon dismissed his youngest nephew, who was Viceroy of the *Bahar*; and that Nobleman departed in a few days.

THIS interval of peace was followed by some Court intrigues at *M8rsh8d-bad* and by some commotions at *Djehan-ghir-nagur Dacä*. A financier of eminence, called *Goc8l-chund*, who was a servant of *Hoffäin-c8ly-qhan's*, by whose influence with *Nevazish-mahmed-qhan* he had been promoted to the office of

of collector General, and commissary of the province of Dacca, quitted his residence at once, and came to M8rsh8dabad, with the design of accusing his benefactor and old master, who under the modest title of Deputy to that Prince, governed absolutely that Province. An accusation of that importance by a man who of all necessity must have been possessed of the necessary proofs, did a great deal of harm to that Nobleman; he was severely reprimanded, lost his office, and fell in disgrace: So that his appointment was bestowed on Yaffin-qhan, Fodjdar of the police in that city, which office devolved on Mir-Calender. Hoffèin-c8ly-qhan finding himself without office, returned to M8rsh8dabad, where he gave a close application to all the arts by which he might retrieve his character and his fortune. At last, by means of a fine person and a large sum of money properly placed, he insinuated himself so deeply in Gahassiti-Bibi's (22) favor, that he soon recovered his former credit. The Princess took upon herself to get him reinstated; and she concerned herself so effectually with both her father and her husband, that the handsome Nobleman's misdemeanors were forgiven, his office was restituted, he was taken into favor again, and he received the investiture of his former employment in a Qhylaar that dazzled the eyes. Hoffèin-c8ly-qhan finding himself vigorously supported, returned to his former station, stronger than ever; and he set Yaffin-qhan afloat; but as the latter was known for abilities, he was invited over by Ata-ollah-qhan Fodjdar of Baghalp8r, who gave him service. Goc8l-chund was not so lucky: as soon as his old master was firmly established in his office, he took that perfidious servant to task, put him under the lash of the auditing office, and made use of so much chicanery in auditing his accounts, that the man was undone,

(22) This Gahassiti-Bibi was eldest daughter to Aali-verdi-qhan, and consort to his eldest nephew Nevazish mahomed qhan, which last was known for an importent man, who addicted himself to feminine joys; so that his Consort was always ready to listen favourably to the petitions of any well looking man, that offered some consolation. But she went much farther; and it is well known to all M8rsh8dabad, that she used to send invitations and also satellites; and that a stout handsome man was not always safe in the streets; and our author who is very tender of Aali-verdi-qhan's family, which was his own, shall by and by say something to that full amount.

and totally ruined, he lost every thing with his office ; and the latter was given to Radja Bolba. Hoffein-c8ly-qhan having by this act of authority informed the public of the whole extent of his influence, appointed his own nephew, Hafseneddin-qhan for his deputy : and then returned to M8rsh8dabad to keep close to his protectress. His credit henceforward knew no bounds ; and his influence seemed of a nature to last for ever ; when at last the wind shifted ; fortune turned her back upon him ; he fell head-long from the summit of power, and was murdered by Seradj-ed-dö8lah's order and in his very presence : a cruelty for which the latter was punished in kind, as the murdered man's blood, like that of *Sia-vosh* of old, produced an infinity of troubles, that ended only by the ruin of Bengal, and the dissolution of Aali-verdi-qhan's family and sovereignty.

We have mentioned that Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, the governor-general of Bahar, had been dismissed to his station by his grand father. As soon as he arrived on the frontiers of his government, he thought proper to strike to the left, and to tarry some days in the district of Zicary. The real reason of such a proceeding, was the dissatisfaction he had conceived at the conduct of Hedáiet-aaly-qhan, my illustrious father ; and the pretence he alledged, was the propriety of examining by himself those countries, in which my father bore an unbounded sway. He was governor of all that extensive tract of ground, which stretches as far as Chota-nagp8r (23) ; and he commanded also over Serefs and Cotumbah, two districts that had been leased out to our family from a great number of years ; so that all the Zemindars and great land-holders of those countries, were all attached to his person, as having been often befriended and assisted by his influence, and as being sensible of certain connections of long-standing, which he had with the most powerful amongst them, but especially with Radja Sunder-sing, who had a personal attachment to him. It became therefore necessary to wean such powerful persons from their affections to him, and to attach them to his own person and go

(23) Näig-p8r called the little, to distinguish it from that Näigp8r, Capital of the Barar, where resided the Princes of the family of Bhosla, the most powerful of the Marhatta feudatories. The former is a small principality on the western out skirts of Bengal : the latter is at five hundred Cosles southeast of Calcutta.

vernment: but he had also another motive: he wanted to put the finances of all those countries under the management of a minister he had brought with them for that very purpose; and this was Radja Kyret-chund, whose father Aalem-chund had been Divan or Minister to the late Viceroy, Shudjah-qhan. All these views might have been summed up into one, namely, that of getting rid of my father's influence in those distant countries, such a design could not remain concealed from my father, who immediately wrote to the Governor to request leave to repair to his court, that he might enjoy the happiness of standing amongst those that waited upon his person: he was answered by a request of not putting himself to so much unnecessary trouble, as the Governor would soon be at Azimabad, where he would always be glad of his company. Hedäiet-aly-qhan, on this answer, perceiving that ill offices had been done him, thought proper to remain in town: When on a sudden a report spread that the Marhattas were coming to Azimabad again, and the report was soon confirmed. The Governor who had lost most of his troops in the campaigns of Gressa and Bengal, and who found himself now only at the head of a handful of men, did not think himself in safety in those parts, and he marched away immediately; so that the next day he was already in the neighbourhood of his Capital. On this intelligence Hedäiet-aaly-qhan mounted, and with such a retinue as usually attended his person, he went out to meet him. The Governor was then at a spot called Metip8r's reservoir; he was on horseback; and hearing of his being so near, he stopped and sent his minister forward to bring up his noble guest with more honor. Hedäiet-aaly-qhan on discovering the governor, alighted, and having embraced him just as he was on horseback, he continued walking on foot with the minister. The Governor, on recollecting the two letters that had passed between them, felt some embarrassment, but yet recovering himself at once, he stooped very low from his horse, and embraced him in that posture. Hedäiet aali-qhan having tarried some moments, to embrace his younger brother Mehdi-neffar-qhan,

who

who was pay-master general, and also to see some other Noblemen his acquaintances, mounted again; and mingling with the governor's retinue, he entered the City with the croud, accompanied him to his palace with the croud, and went-on in to his own lodgings with the croud. A few Days after, explanations took place, mutual complaints were exhibited, excuses made, concessions preferred; and at last the governor, who expected to draw many services from him hereafter, but who wished his resigning of himself the many offices he was invested with, one day took occasion to observe to him "that his sublime highness, (meaning Aali-verdi-qhan), had conceived some suspicions against his person, which amounted to so many orders to himself, his nephew: that it was therefore incumbent upon him to comply with the Viceroy's pleasure, and to surrender his offices for a time, in order to repair to M8rsh8badad, where he doubted not but he would soon find means to sooth his resentment, and time to recover his good graces: " he added" that he reckoned that himself would soon have it in his power to wipe of the stain which malevolence had put upon his friend's character, in which case a restitution of his offices would of course follow. Such a speech although couched in guarded terms, had nothing but very alarming for Hedàiet-aaly-qhan; and that nobleman having now conceived fears for his character and for his honor, declined complying with the request; and being naturally haughty and obstinate, he remained immoveable. The governor confounded at his obstinacy, and at a loss how to manage with such a man, came to my mother's lodgings; and after many excuses for the liberty he had taken, and many protestations of his sincerity, he repeated the purport of what he had already said to her husband; and he protested that in speaking to him, as he had done, he had only complied with the Viceroy's positive injunctions. A few days after this visit, which produced nothing, Hedàiet-aali-qhan, who had refused to resign, thought proper to quit the service; and he obtained leave to repair to the Imperial Court. He spent a few Days only in putting his affairs in order; and
being

Hedâiet aali-qhan parts with Aali-verdi-qhan's family.

being now prepared for his journey, he spied a fortunate hour, which happened to be the fifteenth of Redjeb 1156, and having assembled his troops, with all those that would follow his fortunes, he beat the general; and contrary to every rule of decency and subordination, contrary to that respect which every master and Lord has a right to expect from those in his service, he traversed the whole length of the City, with drums beating, and colours flying: after which he went to encamp at the reservoir and seat of Rây-bale-kishen, agent to the Viceroy of Bengal. There he was joined by his younger brother Mehdi-neffar-qhan, Pay-master-general of the forces: a nobleman for whom the governor had the highest regard, and whom he conceived to be not only one of his sincerest friends, but also an officer of the highest merit, whose valour and frankness had merited the esteem and applause of the public. But the officer unmindful of the many ties that bound him to the governor, and of the many benefits which he might expect from that intimacy, resigned his office; and unable to support his brother's disgrace, he resolved to share his ill fortune. In vain did the governor refuse to accept his resignation; in vain did he represent to him, the consequences of his divesting himself of all employment: In vain did he speak and intreat, and sent others to speak and intreat in his name; the officer continued resolved to follow his brother. At last the governor went to his lodgings, and said that he came to bring him away by force to his palace: all that availed nothing. The officer quitted the city, and joined his brother. And although there was a report that the Zemindars of Bodjp8r, bad men to a proverb, through whose lands he was to pass, had dressed an ambuscade, with intention to surprise and strip him, he took that very road, and set them at defiance; but after having escorted his brother so far, he returned to the city, and took-up his residence in his own house, like a private man. Hedâiet-aali-qhan having set out in the height of the rains, and pursued his journey through a miry country, arrived with much labour at Fáizabad, the residence of Ab8l-man8r-qhan; and the next day he went to pay his

his respect to that Viceroy. The latter who knew how far he had contributed to that nobleman's disgrace, thought it incumbent upon him to show him a high regard, and to compliment him with a large pension: but the Nobleman who had other views, and who intended that very Day to continue his journey tarried only two or three hours more; and he departed for the Imperial Court, where he arrived after a troublesome journey, where we shall leave him at present: reserving the remaining part of his history, as well as that of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's, for the subsequent sections of our narrative in which we shall professedly treat of the reign of Mahmed-shah, and Ahmed-shah, as well as of the revolutions that took place in the Capital of the Empire. At present it appears proper to bring together under one point of view, and in a single volume, whatever we know of the revolutions of Bengal and Azimabad, as far down as the year 1194 of the Hedjra; and especially the history of Aali-verdi-qhan, an illustrious house, which having risen in these very provinces to the summit of power, glory and riches, is now fallen and totally extinct. As soon as we shall have accomplished this task, which we have imposed on ourselves, we shall then with the assistance of the Omnipotent One, who is the rightful succourer, and the rightful bestower of favours, take up again in another section that part of our history of Hindostan, which belongs more particularly to the reigns of Mahmed-shah, of his son Ahmed-shah, and of his grand son Aalem-ghir the second; interspersing our narrative with occasional particulars of those illustrious or eminent men, who have figured on the theatres of Shah-djehan-abad, Lahor, and Ilah-abad; and as to the events that have happened in Decan throughout all that period of time, we shall occasionally mention just so much of them as come to our certain knowledge, reserving it for our two last volumes; and may God grant that we prove as good as our word!

ON the governor's arrival at Azimabad, the rumour of the approach of the Marhattas became stronger; and as it produced a general consternation,

he thought that the only method that could be devised to quiet the minds of all the inhabitants, and to secure their persons and properties, would be to raise a wall round the city. There was already such a wall, but so neglected and decayed; and with all, so beset by houses, that it could hardly be distinguished from them. He therefore ordered that a deep ditch should be sunk round, and that the earth dug from it should be thrown behind and upon the old wall, so as both to raise and strengthen the same. But as this was not to be done without ruining the houses already built on the side of the old wall or close to it, it did not fail to occasion much murmuring and much discontent among the owners, who could not see in that inconveniency and in the loss they underwent as individuals, the safety and well-fare which they acquired upon the whole: they could not forbear exhaling themselves in sobs and complaints. But the utility of the undertaking was so apparent, that no regard could be paid to their complaints; and in a little time the wall rising gradually from the ground, afforded an insurance of future safety. In process of time, when ever the country came to be over run by Marhattas, (and it has been so several times;) not only vast numbers of people used to retire within the walls; and to find their safety there: but even the numerous houses and habitations which remained without, were effectually protected from plunder by the cannon of the Rampart; so that those very people that had murmured so openly, were the foremost to acknowledge the propriety of what was done, and to load their governor with due praises. This work being at last finished, the governor commenced to live easy in his palace; from whence to relax his mind, he used sometimes to come to our lodgings and to make a visit to the poor man's mother, to whom he always made some presents. As he had received from his uncle the whole Pergunnah or district of Tirroot in Djaghir to his own self, that is, in apanage; and he was intent on bringing that country into cultivation, he resolved to cross the Ganga, and to see it by himself, intending to sojourn some time in the same; and as he had a great attachment
to

to Mehdi-neffar-qhan, the poor man's uncle, and he always expressed a concern at his resignation, he on the day of his departure, went to make him a visit, and he insisted on his coming with him immediately. From thence he proceeded on his journey, and took up his residence in the district of Benvar, which was inhabited by a race of antient Radjas, settled this long series of years in that country, which he now put under the direction of his friend Mehdy-neffar-qhan, in hopes that it would by his means become thoroughly peopled and cultivated. He likewise distributed some other parts of the country on the same intent and with the same injunction to his other friends; and this was done with so much discernment, that people soon perceived a difference in its population and revenues. As he thought proper to make a long sojourn in that country, he sent for his consort Amna-begum, who was daughter to Aali-verdi-qhan, and for most of the ladies and women of his Seraglio; and he wrote likewise to the poor man's mother to request her attendance, as a great favor: adding that if she had no money to pay her charges, she might apply to his treasurer: Such being the attachment he bore to that worthy lady, and the high opinion he had conceived of her personal merit: else, such warm attachment is seldom the result of parentage or relationship; nor is so much respect and regard payed to ties of blood in similar cases. As to the poor man himself and his younger brother Aalinaki-qhan Bahadyr, we were both in Shah-djehan-abad, at that time with our illustrious progenitor Sàyd-hedáiet-aaly-qhan.

BUT as we have more than once spoke of Mustepha-qhan's person, and the boundless authority which he had acquired, it is needless we should enlarge on the heroical valor that distinguished his character, and the many important services he had rendered the State. Unfortunately for him, these very qualifications contributed to his ruin: they had raised his credit to such a height in Aali-verdi-qhan's mind, and his influence all over the country had become so very extensive, that there was no man in the service who could go on a par with

with him. The Viceroy's gratitude became boundless likewise : he was loading him every day with immense presents, and accumulating the highest honors upon his head. At one time he presented him with twelve lacs of rupees ; and he augmented his brigade to seven thousand effectual troopers ; and that of his uncle, who governed the Sreffa, was augmented to five thousand : and as a further favor, his post and Brigade passed to that governor's son, Abdol-resol-qhan who on his father's demise, went in great pomp, and took possession of his government. Mustepha-qhan himself, over and above his brevet of five thousand, and his brigade of seven thousand horse, his fringed Paleky, and his other honours and insignia, enjoyed so many emoluments besides, that he lived in great state. He had fifty elephants in his stables ; and his influence in every affair of either government or revenue, as well as in all military matters, was so great, that the very relations of Aali-verdi-qhan, when they had a point to carry, used to apply to him for his interest, at the very time it was filling the Court with jealousy and detraction. Even Hadji-ahmed, elder brother to Aali-verdi-qhan, and father to three sons who had married the Viceroy's three daughters, and enjoyed the highest honours and dignities of the state, Hadji-ahmed took umbrage, at the general's boundless influence : finding himself eclipsed by his personal character, and overborn by his weight, he rather than endure it any more, resolved to live deprived of his brother's society, to exile himself from his home, and to leave a city to which he was accustomed so early as the times of Shudjah-qhan. He abandoned his own habitation and went far off to live with his younger son Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, governor of Azimabad. The subject of discontent proved to be the government of H8gly, which the Hadji wanted for himself, and which Aali-verdi-qhan bestowed on the Hadji's second son, Sàyd-ahmed-qhan, who after the loss of his government of Sreffa, lived at Court like a private man, almost without income, as well as without office. Aali-verdi-qhan thought the Hadji, his brother, sufficiently provided

for, by the Sáir of M8rsh8dabad, that is all the duties, customs and receipts, different from the Land Tax. The old man unable to brook such a refusal, asked and obtained leave to go for his health to Azimabad. It was about the year 1157.

ABOUT the same time, (the rainy season being already over), the Marhattas made their appearance again. Bha-fukur who had attached to himself Aly-caràol, a famous general of the Decan, to whom he had given the command of six or seven thousand horse, now thought of putting his talents to a trial; for he presented himself on the confines of Sreffa and Bengal at the head of twenty thousand horse. His intention was to retrieve his character, either by giving a defeat to Aali-verdy-qhan, or by putting him under contribution. But the Viceroy, who tired with such a continual state of warfare, and of so many consecutive campaigns, felt himself sinking under a perpetual labour of body and mind, that had no end; and who over and above that consideration, had also contracted some infirmities, that weighed down and impeded his natural activity; had now resolved on getting rid of such an importune enemy by some stroke of policy. He therefore gave it out that he wanted to afford some release to his own body, and some rest to his troops; and at the same time, he held frequent consultations with Mustepha-qhan about the manner of destroying the invaders, and of entrapping the Marhatta general and his principal officers in such a manner, as that the whole of them, officers and troops and all, should take a journey to the kingdoms of Nothingness. As Bha-fukur's power and vigilance, as well as the want of energy in the Musulmans of Bengal, rendered such a scheme perilous, if not wholly impracticable; and Mustepha-qhan on the other hand, declined the service, and seemed averse from performing his part; the Viceroy excited his cupidity by pointing out honors and rich presents to his mind: and he fired his ambition by promising him the government of the province of Azimabad, if he could bring within his net, both Bha-fukur and his principal commanders. Mustepha-qhan, who was a man of design and contrivance as well as of

prowess and execution, and who to those advantages joined the talent of speaking as well as he acted, could not resist so many temptations: resolved to perform the service expected from him, he commenced a negotiation with Bha-fukur; and as if his master tired of war, wanted only peace and tranquillity, he proffered his services for bringing about an accommodation between the two parties. The first effect of those proffers was, to render the Marhatta general less attentive to war-matters, and more inclined to come to an interview, which was the very thing aimed at; and as Bha-fukur on these overtures had shewed a pacific disposition, and had expressed an inclination to meet Mustepha-qhan, the latter was sent to him together with Radja-Djanki-qhan, Divan to Aali-verdi-qhan, and of course a minister of the highest trust and credit with his master, who imparted to him alone his real scheme: and this was, to contrive some expedient by which Bha-fukur and his principal commanders, under cover of an interview, might be dispatched to the desarts of non-existence. The two envoys having learned their lesson thoroughly, went to Catwa, where Bha-fukur was arrived lately: whilst the Viceroy to give more probability to his proposal, quitted M8rsh8dabad, and went to Mancara, at about one day's journey to the south, where he encamped on the banks of the river Bagraty. The two negotiators, were then in conference with Bha-fukur; and they turned him so many ways, fascinated his understanding so effectually, and made use of such solemn promises, which they supported by the most sacred oaths; that the Marhatta General was prevailed upon to make a visit to the Viceroy of Bengal, as a step necessary to his sealing the mutual agreement which was to be concluded. But as he harboured still some doubts, and he wished to sound the ford, he dispatched Aali-bhà-caràol, in appearance to pay his respects to Aaly-verdy-qhan, but in reality to make his observations on what he would see at court, and throughout the army; and as he reposed the greatest confidence in that commander, he was resolved to trust to his report only, and then to make himself a visit to the Viceroy in company with all his commanders. The two negotiators finding that the

scheme

Aali-verdi qhan
 resolves to en-
 trap the Marhat-
 ta Commanders.

scheme they had layed down, had taken effect, carryed Aaly-bhá with them, on returning to their master. Mustepha-qhan in particular, who was a proficient in that duplicity which seems essential to the character of an Afghan, spoke by the way so artfully, and he made such impression on the heart of Aaly-bhá, as induced him to expect the most flattering reception. These sentiments were seconded by Aali-verdi-qhan himself who in his speech and manners was at all times the most winning of men; and he worked so effectually upon that officer's mind, by his gracious deportment, and his bewitching way of expressing himself, that he made an entire conquest of his heart. Rich presents perfectioned what sweet words had commenced; and finding now that the man was persuaded, he sent him back to his master, in company with Mustepha-qhan; and both these officers so effectually beset Bha-fukur, and so strongly exhorted him to shake off the suspicions he had harboured in his mind, that the man became a convert, as was already his envoy. Whilst the negotiation was going-on, and ingredients were throwing in the river to disguise the color of it's water, Aali-verdi-qhan did not cease to cultivate the Marhatta's good disposition by plying him incessantly with every thing curious, costly, or delicious, either in stuffs or in fruits, whether of the growth of Bengal, or imported from abroad: and all that was done in so conciliating and elegant a manner, that it entirely eradicated the aversion which the other had conceived against his person, and totally subdued and rooted the mistrust he had harboured in his mind. In one word the Marhatta's mind was entirely changed: he became fond of Aali-verdi-qhan; and his heart was so thoroughly conquered, that there is no doubt, but that he would have gone over to him and attached himself to his service, had he not been already at the head of so much power; and had not his thoughts been totally engrossed by his expedition. Radja Djanki-ram, as being himself an Hindú as well as the Marhatta, passed whole days in his company, and by that very reason proved greatly instrumental in this affair. At last after many reciprocal oaths had been exchanged, it was agreed that Bha-fukur with all his general
officers

officers should make a visit to the Viceroy of Bengal, in the plain of Mancarah. The latter was then encamped at Amani-gundj, as was Bha fukur at Catwa, which was ten cosses farther: Mancarah having been agreed-to by both parties, as being at a middle distance from the two camps. So soon as the day of interview became known, a magnificent tent of large dimensions was pitched there in the open plain; and a quantity of ground was enclosed by Canats, or high walls of cloth, to form before it a yard of a vast compass. On the morning of the interview the Viceroy advanced with his whole army; and leaving his troops at a distance, he went into the tent, and took his seat on the Musnud that had been placed for him there. He had with him some persons of distinction, and a few trusty officers, such as his own nephew Sâyd-ahmed-qhan, Ata-ollah-qhan, and Mir-caz-m-qhan; and not a soul besides Djanki ram, and Mustepha-qhan, and Mirza-hekim-beg-qhan, knew any thing of the secret: so that an infinity of persons of distinction from all ranks, had flocked to the plain from the city, to see the spectacle of such an interview, and by their peaceful looks were of very great resource for making the deception. A moment after the two negotiators, who where the managers of the interview, and who as pledges, had obliged themselves by the most sacred oaths, went forward to bring the Marhatta General; and mean while the commanders and principal officers of the Bengal army, all armed and mounted, took their post behind the tent, but at a reasonable distance; every one with his men ready at all points: some others likewise, whether as men of distinction, or as officers of character, took post about the pillars of the tent, whilst many more stood behind the Viceroy, ready to execute any commands they might receive. It was at this time only that he thought it proper to inform both his nephew, and Ata-ollah-qhan, of the design, as it became high time to put them upon their own guard; and this delicate commission was given to Mirza-hekim-beg in these very words: *Mirza, has Sâyd-ahmed-qhan and Ata-ollah-qhan looked at the tent? No! then I wish you to carry them thither, that I may hear what they think*

think of it. It is a most magnificent one. The real meaning of the order having been fully comprehended, the Mirza carried the two Noblemen into the tent, where in a few words he informed them of what was going to happen, and exhorted them to be ready and upon their guards. A moment after they all came out again, and said to the Viceroy that the tent was *perfectly beautiful, and fit for such a general*; by which expression, the Viceroy understood that they approved of the contrivance, and would perform their part in it. All this while the Viceroy was sitting in state, and waiting for Bha-fukur, and receiving every moment information of his approaching. But whilst that general was advancing to the gate of the tent, a small number of persons of distinction, both out of curiosity and to do him honor, approached it at the same time; and even the Viceroy's driver, brought his elephant within the yard of it, and took post behind his master, but close to his head. At this moment about fifty officers that preceded Bha-fukur, having alighted, came within the tent, all armed; and this precaution of theirs was coloured by the pretence of their being intended to swear to the performance of the articles of agreement, which they would do upon their Sabres (24). Amongst these were two and twenty commanders of eminence and character; the others were amongst those persons called *Amnies* in India, who on the others advancing, advanced likewise, but stopped within the tent-yard. It was at this moment that Bha-fukur, alighting from his mare, came within the tent, holding Mustepha-qhan's hand by the right, and Djankiram's by the left. A Cohort of his officers which were close upon his back, now spread on both sides of him, all armed and all with their hands upon the hilt of their Sabres; and another body shut-up his rear, every one of them with a look ferocious, and a threatening aspect. This was the moment which the two negotiators seized to disengage themselves: they both quitted the general's hand, and excused themselves on being obliged to go away for a few

(24) Such is the military custom in India: else where, for instance in Turkey, soldiers upon their Sabres, and also upon bread and salt.

minutes. By this time he had advanced within three quarts of the length of the yard; when the Viceroy asked in an audible voice which of those eminent officers was the Valorous Bha-fukur-pandet? and having been answered by Mirza-Hekim-beg, who pointed to him with the finger, as did many others who had been stationed there for that purpose; the question was repeated. Three times did the Viceroy ask the question, and three times was it answered by pointing with the finger; and now Bha-fukur drawing near, the Viceroy commanded his people to *fall upon those free-booters*. But as none of the by-standers had been prepared for the intended scene, they all stood aghast with surprise, and motionless with amazement. However this was not the case with Mir-cazem-qhan, who having asked what were his commands, was answered with a repetition of the order in a firm tone of voice. Instantly that commander drew: Ber-qhordar-beg and some others, drew likewise and all ran strait before them; whilst five or six officers of Mustepha-qhan's, all as stout and as brave as himself, chancing to come-in, drew likewise on seeing Sabres drawn, and all together rushed on the Marhattas. Mir-cazem-qhan, being the foremost of all, closed with Bha-fukur, and at one stroke felled him to the ground. This seemed a signal for the engagement: The Marhattas, although unprepared, drew on their side instantly, and engaged the Musulmen, but with so much vigour, that the action became at once furious, bloody, and doubtful: heads and arms were flying about, and numbers falling every moment: so that the multitude of persons of distinction that had come as spectators, seeing blood running in streams, forgot in a moment their characters of professed bravoos, and retreated from that scene of confusion and slaughter. At this very moment the tent-walls having been suddenly let down, Mustepha-qhan, who just had time to cast a glance at the engagement, put spurs to his horse, and ran to put himself at the head of his brigade, with which he fell like lightening upon the Marhatta army, then ready drawn up: sending word to his master at the same time to mount immediately

The Marhatta general slain with most of the commanders in an interview.

diately and to run to his assistance. The latter, whilst a furious engagement was taking place at twenty yards from him, where every one intent upon the adversary before him, minded no one else, was standing upon his Mustnud with his bucler on his arm, and his Sabre, drawn; nor had he any more than a few men about his person at that moment. These intreated him to get upon his elephant, and this was what he intended himself; but one of his slippers could not be found. *I must have my other slipper, said the Viceroy, before I can lay my feet upon the bare ground. And pray, screamed out a voice, is this a time to look out for a slipper? No indeed, replied the Viceroy, it is not; but were I now to go without my slippers, you would not fail to-morrow morning to say, that Aali-verdi was in such a hurry to get out of the fray, that he left his slippers behind.* At last the slipper was found out, and he mounted his elephant. By this time the Marhattas to a man were all dispatched: when on his elephant, he looked round, and asked where was Mustepha-qhan? he was told that he was fallen upon the Marhatta army in expectation of being supported by his highness in person. Still he would not move, but asked for the ravager's head, that he might be satisfied of his being dead; he was repeatedly told he was; and the musick played already by his order; but still he would not move until he could see the head. At last it was brought him, and having tarried a little more to ascertain its identity, he then ordered his elephant forwards, and marched briskly to come up with the enemy: he went on without stopping, until he reached Catwa, where the Marhatta grand army had been encamped. But not one Marhatta could be found there. The reason was, that they had no officer of rank among them, as the general officers, on seeing Bha-fukur resolved to go to the interview, had made it a point to accompany him to a man; So that they had all been dispatched to a man, save one however, whose name was Rhago-cáicvar, who unmoved by Mustepha-qhan's insinuations, and by Bha-fukur and Aali-bhá-caráol's intreaties and example, had remained without the tent at the head of his men, promising to pay a visit to the Viceroy

The Marhattas
slaughtered every
where re-
linquish Bengal.

roy the next day, as soon as Bha-fukur's visit should be over. This man on the first noise he heard within the tent, spurred his horse, went to the camp, and taking up with him every part of Bha-fukur's baggage, he fled with his troops, and could not be overtaken; and although he was attacked repeatedly by all the Zemindars and all the peasants in his way, and he lost a number of men in his retreat; yet it must be acknowledged, that it is to the presence of mind of Cáicvar, that a vast number of Marhattas were indebted for the good luck of having emerged from that whirlpool of slaughter and destruction, and for having reached the benign shore of salvation. It was in this manner, that the mighty army of Bha-fukur's, was in one day annihilated; and what escaped the edge of the sword, fled in the utmost confusion out of the confines of Bengal and Sressa, and at last reached their own country in the most wretched condition. Aali-verdi-qhan after this expedition returned to his capital, not only without losing a single man, but also with such an addition to his character, as raised him both in the minds of his troops and of his subjects, who admired their being so suddenly delivered from those merciless ravagers; nor were the troops less pleased with their unexpected success. And as an acknowledgement for their alertness in executing his commands, he made them a present of ten lacks of rupees. After this, he sent an account of the affair to the capital, and supplicated the Emperor to raise Mustepha-qhan to the dignity of Djung, and to bestow additional honors on every one of those who had exerted themselves so strenuously in the engagement of the tent; for instance, on Mir-djaaser-qhan, who on the very onset received a large wound, and yet continued fighting; on Fakir-ollah-beg-qhan; on Háider-aaly-qhan, and on some others. The Emperor on hearing the supplication, complied with its requests, bestowed on Mustepha-qhan the surname of Babr-djung, or Tyger in battle, with a variety of honours and insignia; and the title of Bahadyr or Valliant, on every one of the persons mentioned to him: to Aali-verdi-qhan in particular, he bestowed the surname of

Shudja.

Shudjah-el-mulk, or the Valiant of the Kingdom; and sent him a suit of cloathes from his own wardrobe, with a sabre, a poinard, a horse, and a variety of jewels.

THIS last expedition had rid Aali-verdi-qhan of a foreign enemy, but it raised a domestic one: for by this time Mustepha-qhan's power and influence had risen to such a heighth, that they exceeded those of a subject, or even those of an equal: he pretended to no less than to a superiority; and his nation having poured in vast numbers into Bengal, and filled every part of Aali-verdi-qhan's armies and household, he was always surrounded by such a number of them, that no one dared to dispute his will, or even to offend any one that bore the name of Afghan; so great were their numbers, and so close their union. It is observeable, that these people in consequence of their numbers and their little sense and understanding, as well as their way of life in the caverns of their mountainous country, very much resembled the savage beasts: they are like them swift-footed, exceedingly courageous, and attracted by little, and highly covetous. Unmoved by the rights of gratitude, and unaffected by benefits received, they pay little attention to their benefactors, and even to the rights of friendship, and full as little to the duties of a community of bread and salt (25): They turn about at once for a small subject, and from cold lifeless friends, they become at once rancorous foes, and obstinate enemies. Naturally of a temper little inclined to mind benefits conferred and favours received, they easily forget the right, of a benefactor, and as easily conceive the design of killing him, nay of making away with their nearest relations, and all that, for a small reward, and on a slight subject. Unpolished and coarse-behaved, and nearly incapable of any civiliza-

(25) The duties of a community of bread and salt, being so much taken notice of in the Arabian Books from whence the Indians have received their religion, with an infinity of words, expressions, and as also tenets; and the Turks or Tartars, or rather Tatars, from whence the conquerors of Hindostan derive their pedigree, being nations that lay a great stress on having eaten bread and salt with a man; the author to all appearance spoke by hear say and from theory on these two articles: for it is notorious to any one that has been much conversant with Indians of either Religion, that there is no nation on the face of the earth, so cold and lifeless on whatever concerns gratitude; nor does their language afford a single word to denote that delicate sensation. They have indeed compound words, but these are of foreign origin; and it becomes highly probable, that whilst the word itself was travelling to India, the idea and sensation remained behind.

Strange character of the Afghan nation.

tion, they are strangers to the softer and more generous sentiments of humanity (in which forgiveness and beneficence cut so conspicuous a figure;) and become furious and ungovernable in their revenges. The death of an Afghan, be it for any reason whatsoever, becomes with them a crime not to be expiated by any atonement or any lapse of time, although the dead man's relations should have already admitted of a compromise: nor do the seeds of revenge ever cease to vegetate and shoot-up in their breasts. Mustepha-qhan himself was an individual of such a praise-worthy nation; and although by no means so void of sense, as his brethren, yet his cupidity, enflamed by his courage, made him cast a wishful eye upon that pomp and that wealth of Bengal, which endlessly blazed in review before his eyes: for his pride was equal to his covetousness. He marched always with a retinue of Afghans equal to Aali-verdi-qhan's cortege; and from being his servant, he aspired to be his equal, and at last attempted to become his superior. In a word, he conceived the scheme of killing his master, for opposing his pretensions. His ambition and fierceness being kindled by opposition, he insisted on the performance of some promises made him in the moment of necessity, and to serve a turn; and he particularly challenged the government-general of Azimabad, as his right: although the actual incumbent was no less a personage than his master's nephew and son-in-law. On the other hand, the Viceroy thought it hard, that a general promise made for a small service in a moment of need, should be insisted upon as obligatory, when that moment was over; he wanted to shut up the man's mouth by loading him with distinctions, to regain his rancorous stubborn heart by softening it with sweet words, and to sooth his resentment by expressions full of regard. Some months were even gained in endeavouring by a variety of presents and a profusion of kindnesses, to smother the fancies and whims that were continually shooting up in that covetous mind. But can the sight of a fountain assuage the thirsty man's raging fire? and can the allurements of a soft tale, and all the persuasion of sleep, pacify the heart

Mustepha-qhan becomes too aspiring and at length pretends to a superiority.

heart that pants for enjoyment? the general, after having been fed some months with to-days and to-morrows, at last lost all patience, and spoke openly; he tore the veil that hung still, and renounced past friendship and past obligations. Little by little the coldness increased; and at the end of Muharrem, in the 1158, he had already ceased to appear at court, the reason of that secession, is thus expressed by Yefuf-aali-qhan, in those curious memoirs he has left us of the transactions of his own time.

THE general opinion was, that Aali-verdi-qhan in appearance, was endeavouring to soften the general's resentment, and to pacify his mind, but that in reality, he was contriving under hand to put an end to his presumption, and to guard against his mischievous designs, being highly shocked at his excessive power, and provoked by his pretensions: at least so thought the Afghans. One day the general preparing to go to court, sent forward according to his custom, Dilshah and Hekin-shah, his two principal officers, who went in, payed their obeisance, and seated themselves. Y8fuf-aali-qhan, was that day at court himself, and in the presence; and he affirms, that it being noon-time, there was no one in the hall of audience, save the usual attendance. It happened, that a little after those two men had been seated, an eunuch of the presence came in haste, and said that the Navvab-begum (meaning the prince's consort) was seized with a violent evacuation and vomiting (26). The Viceroy getting up immediately, went into the inner apartments, from whence he sent those two officers word, desiring them to be seated, until he might come out. But as messengers had already announced that Mustepha-qhan was on the way, this message gave umbrage to these two men, so that without minding its purport, they got into one of the rooms adjoining the hall of audience, and rumaged it thoroughly, having imagined that it contained a number of armed men concealed, who were to fall suddenly on the general, and that it was for this reason the message about the Begum had been sent out, the intent of which

(26) This sudden distemper, which carries people in two or three days, and even in a few hours, is common in Bengal, and is called by the Arabic word *Hans*.

they conceived was to put it in his power to be out of harm's way. Full of this idea, they went away, and meeting their master who was going to a light, they communicated their fears to him. The general was struck with the report: since he had put on an air of independence, he mistrusted every one of Aali-verdi-qhan's proceedings, and lent a willing ear to a groundless, and frivolous report: immediately he returned home. The Viceroy informed of this, sent his son-in-law Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, to reproach him for his credulity, and to bring him back by whatever means. The nobleman having overtaken Mustepha-qhan, attempted by a variety of reasons and entreaties to dissipate his suspicions, and to pacify his mind, but all to no purpose. The general returned home, where he assembled his brigade which amounted to nine thousand horse, beside some thousand musqueteers; and he then sent a message to the Viceroy, by which he renounced his service, and asked the arrears due to his men. The latter sent again his son-in-law, to pacify him, especially as Nevazish-mahmed-qhan's promises and words, bearing a great character for sincerity and fidelity, had a great authority with all the troops. But this message also availed nothing; and matters went so far, that he sent another message to [the Viceroy full of reproaches, and asked as his due the government of Azimabad. Aali-verdi-qhan, struck by this behaviour, was holding consultations; but both himself as well as his sons-in-law with their families and friends were equally confounded, and incapable to take a party, as the general's valor and daringness were notorious these many years past, and his force numerous and attached personally to him; all was confusion and fear in the city of M8rth8dabad. At last preparations were made on both sides for action, and the city became a theatre of war: and the troops attached to the Viceroy and running to their arms filled the streets from the palace gate down to Mustepha-qhan's quarters: these were the brigades commanded by his two sons-in-law, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan and Said-ahmed-qhan, with those of Mir-djafer-qhan, of Haidar-aali-qhan, of Fakyr-ollah-beg-qhan, of N8r-8llah-beg-qhan, and of the Afghan Umer-qhan.

Umer-qhan, with his sons. The corps less numerous came also to offer their services, as well as the Brigades of Musqueteers commanded by Fateh-Rao-bachhy-Chaidun and some other Gentoos: they all took post round the palace, and kept watch day and night, always armed, and always ready. Shimshir-qhan and Serdar-qhan, who, in their hearts were attached to their countrymen, and in appearance to their master, continued to come to court, and kept fair with both parties. The Viceroy who had his views, thought proper to behave kindly to them, although by this time he had lost all confidence in his Afghan troops; But although resolved to trust them no more, nevertheless he was endeavouring to gain the hearts of these two Afghan commanders; for Mustepha-qhan's obstinacy was known to him, as well as the schemes he had conceived; and the excesses of enmity to which his resentment would carry him, were known before hand; and on both those accounts, he thought that the best expedient that could be devised now, was to come to an agreement with that general: His heart would even relent now and then, whenever he reflected on his numerous services, his heroical valour, and his determined devotion to his interests; and he was loth to part with so ancient, so devoted, and so valuable a servant, whose desertion became a real loss for his own power, which, would infallibly feel the consequences of it. But yet, with all these wise reflections, he neither knew how to keep a friend, nor how to humble and ruin an enemy: it was too late now, nor was this last party without its many inconveniencies; and to fight Mustepha-qhan, supported as he was by so many brave troops of his own nation, and all commanded by officers of his own family, seemed to be a matter of much difficulty. He one day thought of repeating his expedient of old, that is, of going to him with only Seradj-ed-dollah, and of regaining his heart by that token of confidence: he had even sent for his Paleky, and was going to set out; but he was vigorously opposed by his two sons-in-law, and by the most distinguished of his well wishers, such as Mir-djafer-qhan, Haidar-aali-qhan and Fakyr-ollahi-beg-qhan and some others, who all joined together in intreating him to forbear so dangerous

dangerous an experiment: "they observed that this was not a time to try what impression he could make upon that Afghan's heart: that matters had gone too far, for any one to expect that such demonstrations of confidence and love would answer any purpose, that the man aimed at no less than at dispossessing his master, and at raising his own fortune upon his benefactor's ruin and death. *Put us to death first*, added they, *for we will not suffer you to risk your person in your enemy's quarter.*" These entreaties and reasonings staggered the Viceroy; and he thought proper to stay at home. Whilst they were yet speaking, a man of consequence deserted the general, and presented himself before the Viceroy: this was no other than the Afghan Rehem-qhan, an officer who had always served the general as his standard bearer, and was reputed his zealous companion. This officer, whether impelled by destiny, or gained over by the Viceroy's winning deportment, changed sides. On the other hand, the general lost also two other commanders, upon whose national partiality he had reckoned: these were Shimshir-qhan, and Serdar-qhan, two officers of character, who refused to join him, and to follow his fortunes: having to all appearance conceived that his expulsion from Bengal, would at all events promote their own views, by withdrawing a large globe that eclipsed them totally. These defections seemed to have altered the nature of the war: For whether these desertions by making an impression on the general's mind, rendered him cautious of committing his fortune to the chance of war in an attack on the city of Murshidabad; or whether the impulse of unavoidable destiny made him alter his mind, it is certain that he turned his views towards Azimabad, thinking it easier to drive the nephew out of that city, than to fight the uncle in the middle of his capital. He therefore resolved to quit Murshidabad; and this resolution, so soon as it became known, was deemed by the Viceroy a providential interposition in his favor. The general before his departure sent his agent to court with a paper, containing an account of the arrears due

to him, both for his own person and for his brigade; and although it wanted the formality of a review, and the certificate of the commissary, as well as a certificate of the indenticity of horses called *Dagh-tesshya* (27); and the account was made up just as he had been pleased; nevertheless the Viceroy, without referring it to the usual offices for examination, ordered the full amount to be payed immediately; and it amounted to no less than full seventeen lacs of Rupees, which sum the Viceroy said he reckoned to be a piece of charity, and an offering made for the success of his affairs. As soon as the general had his money, he sent for the head cart-man of the city, and with threats obliged him to furnish his troops with the number of carts and pack-oxen he wanted; after which he leisurely loaded his baggage and that of his brigade, set on fire his barracks, and marched out of the city in military array and with a deal of pomp; and having advanced some coffes beyond it, he encamped. The next day he marched a full stage. As soon as the news of this departure arrived in the city, and it became certain that he was gone, the inhabitants, who knew that any engagement within their walls could produce nothing but their ruin, thought themselves recalled to life; and they looked upon his departure as a fortunate event. A few days after, the Viceroy thought proper to promote Rehem-qhan, and to add many favors to this promotion: he also advanced both Shimshir-qhan and Serdar-qhan; and by treating them with particular demonstrations of kindness, he weaned them from those rests of national attachment which they still bore to the general, as their countryman. By a stroke of refined policy, he passed over the ingratitude of two near relations of their's, namely, Dil-shir-qhan, and Alef-qhan, who had quitted his service to embrace that of the general's. He only ceased to mention their names; and if at any time their infamous behaviour was mentioned in his presence, he abstained from reproaches and epithets, and attributed what he called their imprudence, to their youth and to their ignorance of the world. Mustepha-qhan mean while being ar-

(27) The *Tesshya* is made by impressing a red hot iron upon the horse's thigh, the first letter of the name of the Corps to which it belongs.

arrived at Radj-mahl, took from the stores kept there, such elephants, and such pieces of cannon as he thought proper, with a certain quantity of ammunition; and from that moment he acted openly as an enemy. And it being now become public, that he had parted with Aali-verdi-qhan, on account of the latter's failing in his promise about the government of Azimabad, the general's nephew Abdol-refsi-qhan, whom we have seen appointed governor of the Sreffa, thought proper on the receipt of a letter from his uncle, who made his defection a family quarrel, to quit his post without hesitation: so that taking his Brigade with him, he went and joined him, after having appointed one Dabid-qhan, an Afghan to govern the country in his absence.

It may be worth observation that the young man's father Abdol-nebi-qhan was of the Shyah Sect, (28) and had served Aazem-shah, son to Adrengzib. He was a man of a noble descent, and valuable for a number of estimable qualifications. A great friend of his was Mir-abdol-aziz, who was of one of the principal Seid families settled at Samana in the territory of Lahor, as well as one of those who had been left in Sreffa at the head of their Brigades for the support of government. This officer told me, that Abdol-nebi-qhan, entangled by the ties which attached him to Mustepha-qhan, whose countryman he was, but whose pretensions he did not approve, being one day alone with him he had disclosed his heart in these very words; "My friend Seid, you perhaps know not that this boy (meaning Mustepha-qhan), pretends to play the ungrateful, and has wrapped about his head a number of whimsies and strange schemes. I am myself in a strange perplexity on that head, like a horse urged alternately by two opposed spurs: if I join the boy, I shall incur the name of an ungrateful fellow, and of a traitor and deserter, an ugly name which has never been borne by any one of my family; and if I stick to

(28) All the Afghans are Sunnies, and moreover fanatical Sunnies. It is remarked of them, that whilst they were ministers of Isfahan, Capital of Persia, the soldiers, and even their officers, made it a practise every Friday, after Noon-prayers at the Cathedral, to busy forth with drawn sabres, and to kill as many Shyahs as they meet.

“ Aali-verdi-qhan, I shall not escape the reproaches of my nation, and the hatred
 “ of my own clan : they shall say, look at this man; in hopes of much money,
 “ and much preferment in Aali-verdi-qhan’s service, he has had the meaness
 “ to part with the man that had recommended him to a regiment, and has pro-
 “ ved the author of his present welfare. Better then, my friend, better by
 “ all means, that God Almighty, by recalling me from this world, vouch-
 “ safe to deliver me from a dilemma, the consequences of which cannot but
 “ redound to my shame.” This worthy man had a particular devotion for a
 venerable personage buried in the city of Catec; and he used every day to
 repair thither and to make the above request with a loud voice: at last his
 prayer was heard : sometime before Mustepha-qhan’s final defection, he felt a
 slight indisposition, and in three or four days, he was taken to the mansions of
 eternal mercy. He was buried on that very spot, the object of his devotions, it
 was on a Thursday; and his monument is resorted to and visited on that day
 by multitudes of people.

To return to our narrative, Mustepha-qhan having renounced Aali-verdi-
 qhan’s service, and openly professed an enmity to his person, his desertion was
 followed by that of Abdol-ref81-qhan, his nephew, who quitted his charge and
 went to join him. This young man was reputed to be the best archer in his
 troops, and one of the most zealous followers of his uncle’s fortunes. His deser-
 tion having left the 8ressa without a ruler, the Viceroy conferred that office on
 Radja D818bram, whom he had appointed agent general to the late governor
 and who was still at Catec: he procured for him at the same time the rank of
 three thousand horse, and the honour of the kettledrum, with a fringed Pale-
 ky; and after having bestowed upon him a brigade of three thousand horse
 he sent him the patents of his new office. This arrangement having been
 brought to bear, he turned his views towards Azima-bad, where commanded his
 nephew and son-in-law Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, the most beloved of his relations,
 and who in reality was the candle that enlightened the old age of his uncle, and

Mustepha-
 qhan turns his
 arms against
 Azimabad.

the taper that blazed out for the glory of his family and race. Fearing therefore for that prince's precious life, he sent him a secret letter by a trusty man, who took a different road from that held by Mustepha-qhan: the letter contained an order to his nephew to come to him by the northern shore of Ganga, and to approach to Bengal by the P8raniah side, as he intended to join him on that side of the water, and to consult with him about what was to be done. The order was calculated to prevent in the young man, a temptation to fight Mustepha-qhan, for whose wide mouth, he apprehended he might prove but one easy morsel. The governor of Azimabad was then in the district of Tirhoot, where he received intelligence of what passed at M8rsh8dabad: so that as soon as news came that Mustepha had revolted, and was coming to Azimabad, (a piece of news since confirmed by the Viceroy's secret letter) he concluded that matters were past remedy; and he held consultations with his best friends, to whom he explained the nature of his situation. Every one gave his opinion, as his abilities or his genius prompted him; but the greatest number were for his obeying punctually the orders of his uncle. They argued on the impropriety of opposing Mustepha-qhan against all the rules of common sense:

“ A general who was at the head of no less than twelve thousand, and probably fourteen or fifteen thousand horse, all old soldiers, tried in numbers of engagements; and who was himself known, not only for a man of extraordinary prowess, but also of military talents, and these too, strengthened by a number of difficult campaigns, and augmented by a continual experience of extraordinary events: that he had acquired that high military character, by fighting only with the sabre and arrows: his method being to fall to without needing or even minding any artillery or fire arms; but that his national soldiers were armed with long heavy musquets, of which the troopers themselves made use of advantageously, by jumping down from their horses upon an emergency: besides all which national advantages, he had now an artillery of fifty pieces of cannon, with every necessary for its service,

“ and

“and above one hundred and fifty elephants, whether of his own or belonging
 “to his officers. Others added, that every one of his soldiers was mounted on
 “horses, the least of which was worth four or five hundred rupees, with
 “their saddles and arms encrusted with silver and gold; and that himself
 “wore a Cuirass of four pieces of steel encrusted in gold, and of so exquisite
 “a workmanship as hardly had its equal in India: that in short his army
 “was furnished with every thing necessary, and proved so well appointed, that
 “few Generals could flatter themselves of having one equal to it; whereas their
 “Governor could hardly muster about three thousand horse, and had no more
 “that five or six thousand foot, some of whom too were at a distance from him
 “on a variety of services.” These were the sentiments of the majority of the
 council; but some who were naturally brave, as well as jealous of their honours
 argued in a different manner; and such was Medhy-neffar-qhan, my uncle,
 who for bravery and conduct bore a high character: this last observed, “that
 “the affairs of life and death were unerringly directed by the decrees of an
 “unavoidable fate: that to beat the enemy and gain a victory, did not de-
 “pend on numbers, but only on God’s pleasure, as it was announced in the
 “glorious *Coran* itself, where it was said *that often small numbers have prevailed upon*
 “*large ones by God’s permission*: that in this emergency, to avoid the fight of the
 “enemy, although even in compliance with their sovereign’s positive orders,
 “would not bear a good construction in the world, and at any rate would not
 “bear the examination of their friends and relations; and that it was such a
 “party, as would in the sequel produce dishonor and real loss.” This officer
 after having spoke so much with some warmth, made a pause, and then added
 “that this was his private opinion; but as to the rest, he would readily submit
 “to the opinion of his more clear sighted superiors, and would be command-
 ed by their pleasure.”

THIS latter advice having been approved by the governor, who was him-
 self extremely brave, and had a nice sense of honour, and a great deal of dis-
 cernment,

cernment, he moved immediately from Tirhoot, and by incessant marches, he arrived at Azim-abad, from whence without alighting at his palace, he went and encamped at Djaaser-qhan's garden, at the eastern extremity of the city : there he was met by Abdol-aaly-qhan, and by the principal noblemen of Azim-abad, such as Akydet-mend-qhan, brother to Emir-qhan, and some others, who were also the principal persons of the province, and had made haste to pay him their respects. The young governor having set open the door of modesty and civility, received them with an air of equality and brotherly attention (neither of which were in his style nor in his usual humour) and by this well-timed familiarity and these unusual marks of regard, he so gained upon their hearts, that they all resolved to follow his fortunes. After so good a beginning, he applied himself to the business of assembling his forces, and of raising new ones ; and as Faiz-aali-qhan had the title of Pay-master, both Mehdy-nefar-qhan and Abdol-aaly-qhan were appointed to confer with the chiefs of the forces and with disbanded officers, for new levies : orders were given at the same time to a number of persons of note, to raise forces : such were Ahmed-qhan-coréishy, Grandson to Dá8d-qhan-péni ; Shah-djehan yar ; Sheh-ahmed-eddin, and Sheh-amrollah, as well as Kerem-qhan, Gholam-aaly-qhan, and Qhadum-hassen-qhan ; and the same commands were issued to Mahta-djesvent and Radja Kyret-chund, and Radja Ram-nar-räin, as well as to the other Gentoo commanders : they were directed at first to pick and chuse the best mounted and the best armed, after which they might enlist every able bodied man that should present. The Zemindars of the province likewise were sent for ; and those that had connections with the governor or were attached to his person, were ordered to attend with their troops : these were Radja Sunder-sing, Namdar-qhan of Narhut and Semäi, and Serdar-qhan, as well as Camcar-qhan, and some others, as powerful as Sunder-sing himself. Similar orders were sent to Beshin-sing, Zemindar of Serels Cotumbah ; to Pahluvan-sing and Surtur-sing his brother, Zemindars of the country
of

of Saharferam and Cheinp8r; and to Buhrut-fing, Zemindar of Arvul. All these came, and offered their services, and desired to share whatever fate might befall their governor; and the crouds that presented continually, were so great that for a month together the business of inlisting went on day and night: so that a horse that had already been marked, that is, had already been in the service, was sure of being inlisted. In that short space of time, there appeared to be borne upon the registers no less than fourteen thousand horse, over and above the infantry, which taking together the old troops and the new ones, may have amounted to as much more; but their arms did not meet with approbation; and it was concluded that new levies, indifferently armed, would never bear the brunt of Mustepha-qhan's soldiers, who were all resolute veterans, and all well-mounted and well armed, unless indeed when placed behind an intrenchment. A vast number therefore of pioneers and labourers was sent for from all parts of the province, and an intrenchment was soon thrown up, that encompassed all the grounds between the tower of Djaaser-qhan's garden and the dyke or wall raised for the security of the suburbs against the waters of a neighbouring lake: a deep ditch was added to the intrenchment, and the earth dug from it proving somewhat humid, served to form a very good rampart, without needing any mortar or brickwork: towers were also raised at proper distances, and cannon placed; and every one of them with part of the intervening curtain, was entrusted to an officer at the head of his corps. The command of the army was divided into several brigades, and every one of them put under the orders of a commander that could be depended upon: the first was Abdol-aaly-qhan the poor man's uncle; the second, Ahmed-qhan Coréishy; the third Radja Kyret-chund, son to the prime minister Rày-rayàn-aalem-chund; the fourth, Radja-ram-naráin; the fifth; Qhadum-huffèin-qhan, and the sixth, Nassyr-aaly-qhan: all these were placed with their brigades at the foot of the intrenchment or rampart, which they watched day and night. The markets, futtlers and the other camp followers, were ordered to attend behind the tents of each

The governor
is resolved to
to stand his
ground.

And yet he is
of no account
in the end.

brigade, with every necessary ready at hand : each commander had his tents pitched at the head of his troops, with his standard planted before his tent, and his insignia and colours pitched on the rampart; and every one was ready to give a good reception to the enemy. As for me, the most inconsiderable of mankind, who was stationed with my younger brother Naki-aali-qhan, I had five months ago quitted Shah-djehan-abad by my father's consent: (on whom be mercy for ever!) It was in the month of Zilcaad, in the year 1157; and I had come to Azim-abad, to marry in a family which had long ago agreed to the alliance: so that in the month of Moharrem, in the 1158, I espoused the daughter of Abdol-aaly-qhan, my own grand uncle; after which on the 14th of the next month, I took up my post in the governor's intrenchments, and joined my own destiny to that of my uncle's, who was the principal commander; whilst my younger brother Naky-aaly-qhan, chose to serve under the orders of his paternal uncle Mehdy-neffar-qhan, on whom he was ordered to attend with about a hundred horse, which he had brought with him. As to me, the least of men, although I was without command, and without pay, I chose out of a point of honour to serve that campaign, intending thereby to shew my gratitude for the favours received from the governor.

ALL these preparatives being made, it was observed likewise that he placed artillery and troops upon the towers and ramparts of the city, with orders not to admit any soldier from the camp. But he had besides a secondary intention in this precaution, which was, to provide against any sudden attack from Mustepha-qhan's troops, as such an event would have put in imminent danger both the properties and families of those in the intrenchment. This precaution was also calculated to secure the properties and families of a numerous body of citizens, who had so much murmured against the wall then rising by the governor's order, and who now acknowledged the benefit they received from it. All these precautions being taken, the governor resolved to sound Mustepha-qhan's heart, and to ascertain how far he intended to carry hostilities, with him: although there was no need indeed of any further enquiry, as he had declared

himself

And yet sends
a deputation to
Mustepha-qhan.

himself openly and amply enough already. Three persons were pitched upon to wait upon him as envoys that had brought a proper message: the first of these was Hadji-aalem, the Cashmirian, who went since by the name of Hadji-mahmed-qhan: the second was Tadj-eddin, the divine, [a native of A8d, who had been recommended by Emir-qhan, Viceroy of Ilah-abad, to the inspection of the college and Mausoleum of Séif-qhan: a building on the water side westward of the castle of Azim-abad, and a charming spot, so remarkable for its coolness, retirement, salubrity, and umbrage, that it became a general resort for the best company; it was in that delightful spot he enjoyed a large pension. The third person, which I do not exactly remember, I believe to have been the late Aga Azimáig, who had been the eye and the lamp of the family of Mahmed-qhan: once Divan or intendant of the province of Cab8l. These three venerable personages were sent to Mustepha-qhan with the following message: *If by your departure from M8rsh8dabad you have intirely renounced the service of his sublime highness, and you intend absolutely to forget us, and to quit this country, we out of regard to past friendship and to past times, request that our friends and guests do please to alight at our houses, and to tarry at least two or three days in our habitations, that we may once more enjoy each others company, and have likewise time to accommodate our guests with such carriages, tents and necessaries as they may want for their future journey; the more so, as this will likewise put it in our power to say farewell to each other: but if the discontent you have conceived against his sublime Highness is of a nature to admit of a healing hand, and your heart tells you that my meditation might be instrumental in removing the cause of your displeasure, and in taking out the shafts that have wounded two hearts once united by the warmest attachment; I would be happy to offer my services for so desirable an object: but if on the other hand it should come out that your Excellency has obtained from the presence the Imperial Patent for the government of this province, please to let us see it, that we may peaceably quit this country, and deliver it to your Excellency without any fighting and without dispute.* The envoys found

Artful and ingenious message of the governor of Azimabad to Mustepha.

found Mustepha-qhan encamped eastward of the town of Mongyhr, and after having delivered their message, they were immediately dismissed with this answer:—*Gentlemen, My intention is, neither to renew with the majestic in war (29), nor to quit this country as a traveller: My intention is to wrest it out of your hands; and as you seem so solicitous about patents, and about the right of taking possession of this province, I inform you, that I have in my hands for such a proceeding, the very same patent which your uncle produced when he wrested Bengal from Ser Efraz-qhan*". Here he paused, and then added this verse:

"We must see what is the Almighty's pleasure in this affair."

AFTER delivering himself in that strain, he put this question to the Moluvy or Doctor of Divinity: *Mr. Moluvy, Suppose that you are surrounded on one side by unconverted infidels, and on the other by blaspheming Schismatics; (30) and suppose I happen to have enough power to destroy either these or those; which, are we in your opinion to put to the sabre first?* The Moluvy who comprehended his aim, but thought proper to dissemble, answered with modesty, *"that if the Infidels be in arms and in opposition, it is lawful to fall upon them: But that it was not lawful to kill the Mussulmen, although they should be sectaries and blasphemers: Indeed to point out to them the right way, and to reclaim them from their errors, is amongst the most meritorious actions which man can commit.* Mustepha-qhan replied: *Say you so Doctor? then we differ greatly; for according to the doctrines of our own teachers, blasphemers are worse than uninformed Infidels, and they must be served first; after which the others may be minded in their turn.* The conversation having taken such a turn, the Moluvy said not a word more, and he took his leave immediately. The envoys, on being returned home, reported word for word what they heard; and the governor, who was

(29) Aali-verdi-qhan, whose principal name was *Mebabet-Djung*.

(30) The Sunnies, of which sect were the Afghans, acknowledge four men to be the first lawful Qhalifs, or successors to Mohammed to wit, Ab3-beir, Omar, Osman, and Aaly. The Shyaks or Shiismatics, on the contrary, such as the Persians and Aali-verdi-qhan's family, acknowledge only the fourth; and by rejecting the three others whom they load with imprecations and abuse, they offend the Sunnies whom they render implacable, and who stigmatizes them with the epithette *Rafaziet* or *blasphemers*.

already disposed for an engagement, now became eager for it. A report was then current that Mustepha-qhan, in the pride of his heart, had distributed amongst his friends and soldiers, the houses of the inhabitants of the city, and especially those of the governor's friends: the report added, that each particular house was already allotted to each particular man; and that after the victory, each house would be made over to its new owner, with the furniture, riches, women and children it contained, in full property. But God did not approve the iniquitous scheme; and as it did not fail to make the deepest impression on my mind, which from that moment became a prey to sorrow and anxiety, I resolved to look out for my destiny in the book of Hafyz of Shiraz, whose verses may be said to be so many unerring oracles of futurity, and in the intelligible tongue of the invisible one (31); and on opening that book, with the proper rites, the first verses that occurred at the head of the page were these:

“Do thou leave that matter to thy God! and make thyself easy;

“For if thine enemy shall not have pity on thee, thy God will.”

and thanks be due to God Almighty that this oracle came to be verified literally.

MUSTEPHA-QHAN on his arrival at Monghyr, had ordered his nephew, Abdol-r8ff81-qhan to insult the fort with his brigade: a ruinous fortification, which although quite neglected, had some renown. The governor and his little garrison put themselves upon their defence; but as that fortification did not seem to deserve much ceremony in that officer's opinion, he alighted, and putting himself at the head of his men, he mounted to the assault. In an instant the besiegers got-upon the wall, and seized the fort; but such was their leaders destiny, that as he was standing below the second gate, and exhorting his men to be quick, he was killed outright by a stone that fell upon him on its being loosened by one of the garrison who stood above. The place was not such an acquisition as could compensate the loss of so valiant an officer; and Mustepha-qhan severely felt that heavy blow: although for fear of discouraging his people, he thought proper

(31) The Poësies of Hafyz are consulted on futurity all over Persia and India, just as were the *Serres Virgiliae*, two hundred years after Augustus. But however the Coran is the chief book of divination amongst all Mussulmen; and amongst the Shyals in particular, the Coran, and also their Rosario; and this is done with a variety of rites and ceremonies.

to disemble; for Abdol-r8ff8l-qhan was his right hand-man, and an officer of tried valor and conduct. After having tarried three days there, and complied with the custom of ordering the musick to play for this success, he took away some pieces of cannon with some ammunition from the fort, and departed for Azim-abad. His approach redoubled the vigilance of the people within the intrenchment; and the governor in particular gave himself no rest day and night in visiting every part of it. He ordered Mehdy-neffar-qhan, to see that the six commanders mentioned above made their rounds in person by day (32) as well as by night: he was himself every where, and giving his orders occasionally. On a Thursday about sun-rising, as every one was at his post, and upon his guard, Mustepha-qhan made his appearance; and having examined the intrenchment, he went into some groves of Mangoe-trees that were close-by; and from thence he divided his army in two brigades, one of which he gave in command to B8lend-qhan the Rohila; whilst he kept the other to himself: this disposition being made, he came out of the groves and ordered B8lend-qhan to wheel round, and to penetrate into the intrenchment by that part that closed with the city-wall: by which manoeuvre he would fall on the enemy's rear. He followed himself, and he attacked the intrenchment in front, but at the other extremity of the same, where commanded Radja Sunder-sing, Radja-Kyiret-chund and the other Gentoo officers. B8lend-qhan having advanced by the horse-market, and a part of Djaaser-qhan's garden, turned the intrenchment, and fell upon Nassyr-aali-qhan and his son Séyd-aali, as well as upon Mirza Ramazani son in law to Murtezevi-qhan: all of whom were stationed at that part. On the first onset Nassyr-aali-qhan was wounded with a sabre, and fell dead; and he was instantly followed by Séyd-aaly, and Mirza-Ramazani; and Naher-qhan mevati being wounded, fled, for his life; and thus B8lend-qhan got within the intrenchment: those

The Afghans
attack and carry
off the in-
trenchments
round Azim-
abad.

(32) This has a reference to the climate of India where for the greatest part of the year, people are spent and faint in the heat of the day, especially betwixt the forenoon and afternoon, but brisk and lively and always up almost the whole night.

that defended it, took fright and fled : and his Afghans finding tents and shops, full of effects, fell a plundering without minding any thing else. Mean while Mustepha-qhan having on his side turned the intrenchment, attacked and carried it at once, making a great slaughter of its defenders. Ghazi-qhan the Bab8z8ian, and Sunder-sing's Son-in-law with their troops, were there put to the sword ; every thing was in confusion instantly. Sunder-sing with a few persons who stood by him, mixed with the six or seven thousand Afghan horse that thronged in, and was lost amongst them ; nor did Mustepha-qhan mind him any more ; but went forwards, where his people making a slight discharge of arrows, Zolficar-qhan Mevati, and Kyiret Chund, the Gentoo, who chanced to be stationed there, were both wounded, and fled with as many of their people as could escape the sabre. On sight of this, the brigades and commanders appointed to defend that part of the intrenchment, lost courage, and fled on all sides ; and there remained before the Governor only an empty space of ground, over which Mustepha-qhan was advancing with a thick body of men, on one side, whilst the Governor was advancing on his Elephant, on the other ; he looked neither confounded, nor dismayed, although he had by this time no more than two hundred horse, and one hundred and fifty musqueteers about his person. Cam-car-qhan, and Zen-mest-qhan, were amongst those two hundred horse, as were about eight more from several corps, and mostly from Mir-bedr-el Dehi's, an officer usually called Sáyedet-aali-qhan ; there were some few men of note more. Mehdy-neffar-qhan, with Naky-aali-qhan and Mir-eeram and five or six others more were upon the intrenchment, and speaking to Sheh-hamid eddin, the Lucnovian, when that sudden revolution happened. This man was at the head of seven hundred men, as well as Sheh Amrollah, another commander of seven hundred men more ; and he exhorted them both to march to their master's assistance : but no one would move ; so that with the five or six men that stuck to him he ran forwards, and closed with the Governor's Elephant. By this

this time Mustepha-qhan being near, was seen making signs with both hands to his people to surround him: he was also heard to cry out: this is *Hàibet Djung* take care to bring him alive. Hekim-shah being the foremost of the enemies, jumped from his horse, and was making to him with two or three more; when he was encountered by three or four, of the six that were with Mehdy-neffar-qhan; and they engaged sharply. The Governor by this time was advancing with a firm countenance, and shooting arrows incessantly: at the same time he dispatched a man to Abdol-aali-qhan, to order him to come immediately to his assistance with his whole Brigade. This officer, as well as two or three other commanders more of that part of the intrenchment, knew nothing of the works having been carried with slaughter and destruction; and he answered that it was improper in people upon an intrenchment, to mount a horse: that he was at his post with his brigade; and that if the enemy should break-in, he would not fail to do his duty. Whilst he was speaking, another man came with this message: *whenever my business shall be effectually done, and myself shall be amongst the slain, of what use can your coming be to me then?* On hearing these words, he mounted immediately, and with a small number of men that followed him, he went towards the governor. I was one of that small number, and a few horsemen more; and as we were advancing, we discovered Mustepha-qhan retreating, his people in confusion flying out of the intrenchment, and Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan standing on the parapet, and making a great fire of musquetry and rockets upon a body of R8hillas, who with their commander mounted on an elephant, were in confusion and flying on all sides. Abdol-aly-qhan on sight of this guessed what must have happened; and he said aloud: *our master has fought such a battle, and we, his Soldiers, have been idle all this while!* Having said these few words, he with the few that stood by him ran, towards a spot out of the reach of the fire of the intrenchment, where Mustepha-qhan with those about him, was making a stand, and rallying his people with the hand and voice. But the governor perceiving Abdol-aaly qhan's precipitation
from

from the parapet, sent him an absolute command to come to him immediately; and the messenger asked him what he meant, by exposing himself and the few brave men that stood by him, to a certain death, with no prospect of advantage at all, “come to me, says your master, assemble your dispersed people, and see what the Lord of victory shall perform for us to day.” Abdoly-qhan’s friends had been already intreating him to forbear; but he was so ashamed to have done nothing, and so angry and passionate, that instead of listening to what they said, he put his horse on a gallop: when at that very moment he was overtaken by the messenger, and brought back. By this time the sun was in the meridian; and the heat had become so insufferable, that Musteqhan who felt the consequence of it, having considered that numbers of his people were wounded, numbers of his bravest friends killed, the rest disheartened, and fainting with heat; did not think proper to renew the attack; but retired at a slow pace to his camp, which was upon the little P8n-p8n at less than a coss distance from the enemy: arrived there, he ordered cannon to be planted in the mango-groves, and an incessant fire to be made on the intrenchment.

It was only after this retreat that we learned what had happened before our coming-up, and how Mustepha-qhan had been defeated. That general having broke in the intrenchment at once, and filled every part of it with confusion and terror, thought that all was over; when the governor, who found himself almost alone, resolved not to survive his shame, and advanced towards him, with intention to sell his life at a dear rate: he was incessantly shooting arrows from his Elephant; and his guards, armed with heavy musquets, were firing as they advanced; as did some few men on horse back that followed some Radjahs, and at last engaged the enemy. Mustepha-qhan, on observing the Governor, pointed to his people who he was, and he ordered that he should be brought alive: whilst he was yet speaking Hekim-shah, who was one of the bravest and the most zealous of his friends, having drawn after him three or four brave men

more, engaged three or four of the six that followed Mehdy-neffor-qhan, but soon fell dead of his wounds, as did Dil-shah another brave who had come to hand-blows. Mustepha-qhan was near now; and the two generals seemed eager to engage each other, when his Elephant man being wounded with a Musquet-ball, fell down sprawling in his blood; and the animal having no driver, turned to the left and right, and seemed so much frightened and out of its senses, that Mustepha-qhan afraid lest the animal should carry him away and snatch the victory out of his hands, jumped down, and advanced on foot, sabre in hand, expecting that others would follow his example, and soon form a circle round his person with which he might surround the Governor. His ill destiny would it so, that his people mistaking his intention, fancied that he had fallen down for the same reason which had brought down his driver; and they fell into confusion immediately, after which most of them fled out of the intrenchment; and their general after having said a few words upon such a reverse of fortune, reluctantly followed his people on foot; nor was he thought of or recollected, but when he was out of the intrenchment: then only did his people think of him, and they brought him a horse. As by this time his people were now in confusion, dispersed, and incapable to hear any command, he went a little farther, and ordered the musick to strike up in sign of victory, in hopes of enticing his troops round his person: but they were incapable of hearing him, and their general finding all his efforts vain, followed the run aways. The governor seeing the enemy out of the intrenchment, rallied as many of his people as he could, and passed the remainder of the day and the whole night on horse-back, ready to receive the enemy. It was at that time, that it became known that Radja Sunder-sing's brigade, after having opposed the enemy as well as they could, had been broke at last, and overthrown: and that Mustepha-qhan, without minding him any more, had gone on, and put to flight Radja Kyiret-chund with his brigade; whilst Bslend-qhan having also broke into the intrenchment

ment, was plundering the tents, and filling every part with terror and confusion: Sunder-sing, I say, who saw such a state of things, and not a standard standing, not a single pair of colours displayed, concluded that the governor had been killed, and that all was over: and he fled with as many of his men, as had escaped the sabre. His example was followed by Radja Beshen-sing, by Mohammed-djemal, and by some other commanders of small note, who all turned their backs, and fled: Some took shelter within the city walls, and many more in Djaaser-qhan's garden and in the groves adjoining, as well as on the water side: and thus one full half of the intrenchment remained without a man to defend it: nor did there remain even a trace of the army-market, and of the tents, colours and standards that had been standing there in the morning: the whole became an empty waste, as far as the eye could reach. The other troops stationed at that part of the intrenchment that joined the city westward, seeing such a state of things, left that station, and turned towards the eastern part, where Mustepha-qhan was then, and where they thought the greatest efforts would be made. The governor, who was every where, and gave his orders every where, passed the day in a small incommodious tent pitched at a small distance from Abdel-aly-qhan's, and the night in that commander's tent, where he used to take some rest; whilst that commander, with myself the last of men, and Mehdy-neffar-qhan, and Naky-aaly-qhan with some guards; watched over his person. Once the Afghans approached by night near the intrenchment, and threw some rockets in it, to try how people were upon their guards, for they intended a surprise. But this stratagem was defeated by the alertness of Mehdy-neffar qhan, who ran every where, and gave order that the troops should not move from their stations, but should fight in their posts, without minding any thing else. This order tranquilised the troops; and the confusion which was already rising, subsided at once. The next day the enemy cannonaded so vigorously, that a great number of men and horses were maimed by their balls.

Good conduct of the Governor's.

Those

Those that were at some distance within the intrenchment, were losing every moment a horse or a limb; but those that were close at the foot of it, suffered nothing. For five days together, the cannonade went on at the same rate: the seventh, which was a Wednesday of the month Sefer, the spies gave notice that tomorrow Mustepha-qhan would decamp, and continue his march. This advice having engaged the governor to assemble his council, he asked them what they thought of the intelligence. The wisest amongst them were of opinion that “ Mustepha-qhan was not a man to depart
 “ without trying another engagement: that mean while the troops ought
 “ to be ordered to get ready to receive the enemy; and that every preparative ought to be made; after which they might wait what fate would
 “ produce for them; but that by all means the vanquished troops must
 “ be kept behind the intrenchment, whereas those that had stood their
 “ ground, and fought the enemy, ought to be brought out of it, to take
 “ him in flank.” Accordingly, Abdol-aaly-qhan, and Ahmed-qhan Corëishy, and Sheh-djehan-yar, with Qhadum-hufsëin-qhan, and some others, were put at the head of so many brigades, that were to march out; and Djefvent-nagur and Namdar-qhan Radja of Mehin, with his three brothers, and their regiments, together with the body guards, and Mehdy-neffar-qhan, were ordered to attend the governor every where: but those that had felt the weight of the Afghan Sabre, like Radja Kyiret-chund, and Zolfi-car-qhan, and some others, were ordered to remain with in the intrenchment. At day break, the Governor made his morning prayer, recommended himself to God Almighty’s safe guard, and mounted, followed by Abdol-aly-qhan, who had about fifteen hundred horse with him; the Governor himself had a thousand more, as well as a thousand Musqueteers preceded a few rocket men and two or three swivels. A little after, Mustepha-qhan’s cavalry appeared out of the Mango-groves on the south of the intrenchment, whilst his artillery was advancing westward; this being observed by Mehdy-neffar-qhan, he came up and desired

desired Abdol-aaly-qhan to attend to that manœuvre “ as it became necessary
 “ to prevent the enemy’s taking possession of the mound that retained the
 “ waters of the lake: otherwise, added he, if they succeed in taking post there-
 “ on it will be impossible to shew one’s self in the plain below, because they
 “ would fire from behind a cover, and we from an open plain.” This advice
 being approved by Abdol-aaly-qhan, he from that moment inclined to
 the left; and the governor went on with the high road, but inclining towards the
 right, at about a gun shot from the former. Whilst Abdol-aaly-qhan was ad-
 vancing with his brigade, in which I was myself, the enemy had already crof-
 sed the plain, turned the mound, and taken possession of that strong post, from
 whence they immediately commenced firing with their cannon; at the same
 time M8rteza-qhan, son to Mustepha-qhan, alighted from his horse with a
 large number of men which he stationed at the right and left of the post, to
 support the cannon: and that general himself having closed with the extremity
 of the dyke, shut up the empty space betwixt that extremity and the high road,
 and stopped his elephant over against that of the governor’s, who was advancing
 on that road. The empty space between the father and son was immediately
 filled up by a number of brave Afghans, who ranged themselves, streight, and
 cut as formidable an appearance as Alexander’s wall (33): from whence with
 their long musquets, they commenced a terrible fire, the distance between them
 and us being not above an arrow’s shot. In a little time most of those at my
 right and left were wounded and slain, or had their horses sprawling on the
 ground: amongst these proved to be one of Abdol-aaly-qhan’s best friends, who
 having lost his horse, came to request my assistance; I ordered therefore the
 elephant to kneel, and took the man behind my Hâodah; but whilst the ele-

(33) Although Quinte-curte is too fond of his hero, to say a word of it,—It appears by all the Oriental Histori-
 rians that Alexander built such a wall betwixt the Shore of the Caspian Sea, and the mountains, and that that
 space of two leagues in length, against the Turks or Scythians: this wall exists to this day, and is called *Der-*
band, opening shut up, nor does tradition itself attribute the foundation of it to any but to Alexander Macedon.

phant was rising, a musquet ball came, and struck the man again, and I thought it had gone through his body: but by good luck, it had been slackened by the folds of his girdle, and by the thickness of his belt. At that moment another ball came which wounded me in the arm: it burned and tore off the flesh, but spared the bone. The driver of Abdol-aaly-qhan's elephant received two Musquet balls at the same time, and tumbled down, but did not die. Abdol-aaly-qhan desired Rahman-qhan, who sat behind him, to supply the driver's place, and took the driver behind, whom he placed where Rahman-qhan had been. The engagement became hot now, and people fell down every moment: this being disliked by one of Abdol-aaly-qhan's officers, whose name was I believe Mirza fateh-ollah, as brave a man as ever fought in a battle, he selected a small number of musqueteers, and although wounded himself in the foot, and hardly able to move, he brought them before Abdol-aaly-qhan's elephant, and was encouraging and directing their fire; but that made by the enemy proved so hot, that our people unable to stand it, commenced lagging and skulking behind: so that there remained on the field of battle only about three hundred horse with some infantry under the command of Abdol-aaly-qhan, Ahmed-qhan-coréishy, Shah djehanyar, and Qhadum-husséin-qhan. At this sight Abdol-aaly-qhan sent to the governor to inform him that matters went ill with them, and that unless they were supported, they would not be able to advance: that he hoped he would come himself to his assistance, as his appearance alone would encourage his people to renew their attack; that otherwise whatever was to befall them, would happen, but then the battle would be as good as lost. The governor on this message wanted to advance, but was over ruled by Hadji-ahmed, his father; so that finding no assistance come to us, we recommended ourselves to god, like people that could not expect to return from that engagement: at this very time Mustepha-qhan on his elephant made his appearance from behind the mound; and we all concluded that the Afghans were coming to an attack: when Fateh-ollah-qhan with his musqueteers joined us, and commenced firing; and at the first fire he brought

brought down Mustepha-qhan's driver, as well as his standard bearer: both standard-bearer and standard rolled together down, and I know not why, but at this fight, I cryed out: *We have beaten them: so I hope in God: and I accept the omen*, answered Abdol-aaly-qhan with three other commanders that were with him: at these words they plucked up fresh courage, pushed their elephants forwards, got upon the mound, and finding M8rteza-qhan, there with his Afghans, they engaged them briskly. From thence we could descry the governor, who having got rid of his father, was advancing in haste, preceded by a large body of men, who with their rockets, wall pieces, and long musquets, were doing a great deal of execution, whilst marching: this added spurs to the courage of all of us, who were engaged with the Afghans, and fighting with the sabre body to body: in which way the business of wounding and killing went on so briskly, that I saw in a moment about forty or fifty of the bravest Afghans wounded and slain. At this very moment, a rising zephir of victory was spreading over the Governor's standard; and in fact that zephir proved to be the wind itself, which being westerly, shifted at once to the east, and blew all that smoke and dust in the enemy's face. At this critical moment, a musquet ball entered Mustepha-qhan's eye, and went out at his ear; and that general fell on his face in such a manner, that his people took him for dead, lost courage, and fell into confusion, and at last fled on all sides. M8rteza-qhan seeing his father's elephant returning towards the Afghan camp, guessed the reason of such a retreat; and losing courage, he quitted the field likewise. It must be observed that as Mustepha-qhan had always looked with a left invidious eye both on the prince of the faithful, (on whom be peace and grace for ever (34); and on those that loved him, he now received his punishment in his right eye, and was punished as he deserved. The

(34) The Prince of the faithful for the author is Aaly, and those who love him are the Shyabs, who never fail to ascribe sentiments of enmity and aversion to every one of those who do not chuse to join them in vomiting abuse and curses against the three Emperors that preceded Aaly: whereas the Sunnies respect him highly and as much as many of the three others.

governor having first prostrated himself on the ground with Abdol aali-qhan and some other commanders, in acknowledgement of this victory, he ordered the enemy to be pursued slowly; and at the same time he commanded the musick to play in token of victory. The troops had orders to march in order, as the enemy had rallied by this time, and was retreating with a steady pace, without the the least appearance of dismay or confusion. But as they had their wives and families with them, and a deal of baggage, besides whenever the carts or sumpter beasts were stopped by any impediment, two or three thousand of them would stop at the same time with a deal of composure, without ever offering to advance a foot, until every thing was set to right again, and then only they recommenced their march; but with an undaunted countenance, that did not look like that of vanquished foes. This countenance of their's, having made impression on the governor, he recommended to his men, only to follow the enemy, without betraying too much eagerness. And thus they were advancing slowly, and at the rate of one cossie in five hour's time, stopping each time when the enemy stopped, and playing their musick; and they continued in this manner, until the enemy's dust could be no more descried. In the evening, news came that Mustepha-qhan's troops had encamped at the reservoir called Mety-pör, about which spot the general having given some signs of life, they descended him from his elephant, and put him into his palekey; in which he recovered his senses so far, as to ask how matters went, and being told, he expressed a regret at those repeated reverses of fortune. As soon as the enemy was seen encamped, the governor returned to his tent, where he received the congratulations and nuzurs of his officers, on whom he bestowed encomiums according to their respective ranks and merits, so that every one was satisfied. As to me, he embraced me heartily, and loaded me with caresses and compliments, probably because I was the oldest among them. The army passed the night under arms: in the morning intelligence was received that Mustepha-qhan had marched on; upon which the governor marched immediately

immediately, and encamped at the very place which the enemy had left: the next day the Afghans marched to Nobetp8r still followed by us, who kept them company from stage to stage, until they came to Muhabbet-Aaly-p8r.

It was at this place that letters came from Aali-verdi-qhan, announcing his being arrived at Azimabad, where however he could make but a short stay, "as Mustepha-qhan had exhorted Rhago-dji-bhoslah to make an irruption into Bengal, a country in which, said he, he apprehended they would prove too hard both for the uncle and nephew. It is then important, added the Letter, that you do put a finishing hand to Mustepha-qhan, as you have commenced him; and that I should depart for M8rsh8dabad to provide against the Marhattas, in such a manner, as to render a junction of those two enemies, impossible." On receipt of this letter, the Governor left the command of his army to Abdol-aaly-qhan, with Mehdy-neffar-qhan under his orders; and taking that general's Paleky, with an additional number of chairmen, he marched all night, and at day-break, he found himself near his uncle's encampment: a little after, he payed his respects, and followed him for a few days; after which he borrowed Seradj-eddö8lah from him, and returned to his army. But hardly was he departed, when on the second day Aali-verdi-qhan altered his mind; and thinking it best to get rid first of the enemy nearest at hand, he turned westward and joined his nephew; and both continued pursuing the enemy, as far as Zemaniah, a town on the shore of the of the Ganga, over against Ghazy-p8r: which latter is of Ab8l-man8r-qhan's government, and inhabited as well as Zemaniah by Afghans. The town was set on fire and plundered; and intelligence coming that Mustepha-qhan had retired to Chunar-ghur, a famous fortress in those parts, the uncle and nephew put an end to their pursuit, and returned towards Azimabad, from whence the former continued his route to Bengal to be there in time against the incursion of the Marhattas.

Aali-verdi-qhan marches to succour his nephew.

THIS retreat afforded Mustepha-qhan leisure to repair his artillery and his arms,

to cure his wounded, and to assemble recruits and auxiliaries from all parts. The Governor did the same on his side in Azimabad, and employed his time in recruiting his army, gaining the hearts of his soldiery, quieting the minds of the husbandmen, cherishing the farmer, and making every military preparation for the ensuing campaign.

As to Aali-verdi-qhan he made only a stay of a few days at Djaaser-qhan's garden, to finish some affairs of urgent necessity, and from thence he departed for Bengal. He had some time before dispatched Munaam-qhan, a gentleman of eloquence and abilities, as his Embassador to Rhagogi-bhofflah; and having now left with his nephew a commander of importance called Rehem-qhan, with his whole brigade, he pursued his route. Rhago-dji was already on his march, and he had entered the plains of Bardevan, when Munaam-qhan overtook him, and proposed to compromise matters by an agreement; but as the Marhatta Prince imagined that the proposal arose from mere necessity, he asked no less than three Corors of Rupees for his forbearance. Aali-verdi-qhan, who was only endeavouring [to gain time, spun out the negociation by a variety of delays and artifices for two months and a half together, in which time Rhago-dji did not move: and matters went on slowly, until news arrived of the defeat and death of Mustepha-qhan; and this event having put it in Aali-verdi-qhan's power to reject Rhago-dji's unreasonable demands; the negociation was broke off, and he immediately put himself at the head of his army: but we reserve a detail of this campaign and negociation for the following sheets, in which we shall mention the total defeat and death of Mustepha-qhan.

By this time the dry season drew to an end, and the rainy one was going to set in, when the Governor hearing of Mustepha-qhan's preparatives, quitted the city and advanced to meet him, resolved to make an end of that obstinate enemy. This general had in his sojourn at Chunar-gur made so good use of the money he was possessed of, that he had assembled about his person a great num-

ber

ber of Rohillas, with whom he set out for the province of Azim-abad, foreseeing that the rains would be soon at hand, and that Rhago-dji would not be so early in those parts. His intention was to take up his quarters in the Ser-car or district of Shah-abad where, he knew that the Zemindars of the country and especially Bab8-advant-sing, and the Zemindar of Djug-disp8r, were dissatisfied with the government; but he also intended to fight: convinced that if he came to gain a considerable advantage, every thing would follow victory; and if he should chance to be killed, he would be rid of all his troubles: for by this time his money drew to an end. But he knew that should the Governor on account of his apprehensions from the Marhattas, delay his departure from his capital, the river Sohon would swell by the next rains, and would become an effectual bar to his advancing towards the Afghans: by which event himself (Mustepha-qhan) would be at full leisure to come to an understanding with the Zemindars of the Shah-abad, and would be enabled to quarter his army there and to collect all the revenues of that district. He concluded therefore that recruited by such good quarters, and supplied with money, he would have it in his power to wait for Rhago-dji; or should that general be already about M8rsh8dabad, this would afford to himself time enough to repair thither, and to effect a junction; after which he reckoned that a good account might be given of Aali-verdi-qhan. He knew likewise that good recruits might be found in the Markatta camp, for his own troops, and was resolved to take his chance, happen what it would.

ALL these projects were overset by the governor, who guessed at every one of them by the mere keennels of his genius, and resolved to be beforehand with his enemy. He set out immediately with an army of fourteen thousand horse, having with him two new officers of distinction namely, Sheh-din-mahmed, a relation of Ser-b8lend-qhan's, (the same whom Séif-qhan, Governor of P8raniah had sent to his uncle's assistance,) and Rehem-qhan the Rohillah, another officer whom Ali-verdi-qhan had left with his whole brigade, as a man of courage and conduct. The governor, after a
few

few days march, forded the Sohon; and the second day, he reached the plain, which is near Djugdesp8r, where he encamped in an open ground that had a little river in front; and as the enemy was now very near, the Azimabad army passed that whole day under arms, and at night part of it only was awake. The Governor himself passed the greatest part of the night in putting up prayers to the supreme judge of disputes; and at day-break, having finished his morning prayer, he mounted his elephant, and ranged his army in battle array. His father Hadji-ahmed insisted on their making use of the same method that had succeeded so well lately, to wit, entrenching themselves, and fighting the enemy from behind a rampart: but this advice was vigorously opposed by Mehdy-neffar-qhan and some other commanders of approved valor and conduct, who argued in this manner, “ the first time, said they, “ we were beaten, and the enemy was our conqueror; but now the scales are “ turned: he has been beaten, and we are his conquerors. If we follow the “ advice of retrenching ourselves, we give him the very advantage he is desirous to have; the rainy season is at hand: and we shall in consequence of “ such a dilatory warfare be soon obliged to return to the city; whereas he “ shall remain on the other side of the Sohon; and protected by this mighty “ river, he shall enjoy the revenues of one full half of the province; (and we “ doubt very much whether the other half is so rich;) but this is not all: at “ the end of the rains you shall find your enemy stronger than ever by his “ junction with the Marhattas.” This advice being that which the Governor approved in his heart, he ordered Abdol-aali-qhan, who commanded his vanguard or first line to march slowly, as if to look out for a place to entrench himself; but with injunction to fall immediately upon the enemy the moment he should see him deluded into some security, so as to keep him engaged until he should come-up himself. This order was executed with no less ability than it had been conceived. We had hardly advanced at some distance, when we perceived Mustepha-qhan dividing his army in two parts, one of which he led himself

himself to action, whilst he gave the other to B8lend-qhan: and this last officer was advancing, when a ball of a cannon coming from behind us, struck the elephant he mounted, and brought him down: immediately a fluctuation was perceived in his corps; which being perceived by Mustepha-qhan he advanced himself with his division, and all fell sabre in hand, like a storm of lightning and hail upon Dà8d-qhan, who was advancing and firing with the field pieces under his command. In an instant the Afghans put to flight the troops that attended him; but that officer disdaining to fly, stood his ground with seventeen men that did not quit him, and he fell in the field of braves, leaving an honourable name behind. On sight of Dà8-qhan's fate, the troops which were advancing to his assistance, stopped short, and fled to a man; and Mustepha-qhan having trampled this flying body under his foot, turned upon Qhadum-h8fféin-qhan, on his left; and a sharp engagement ensued between them, in which Qhadum-hufféin-qhan fell dead with fifty or sixty of the bravest that fought by his side. Abdol-aaly-qhan observing that the army was intimidated by so much slaughter, resolved to make a stand with a small body that had not quitted him; and as the artillery impeded the ground, and the oxen linked together, hindered his passing, he ordered the ropes that held them to be cut asunder; after which he went forwards, and was joined by Mehdy-neffar-qhan with five or six gentlemen more amongst whom was Naky-aali-qhan my brother, who had been forsaken by his people: these six heroes swore they would share our fate: and a moment after, Shehdjehan-yar and Radja Sunder sing, who were behind with a dozen of troopers, joined us. This body was soon reinforced by Rehem-qhan the Rohilla, who made his appearance from the right with fifteen and sixteen men armed with spears. Abdol-aaly-qhan then finding himself so luckily reinforced, advanced towards Mustepha-qhan, as did the latter towards him. At his critical moment, and whilst we were advancing, a musket ball coming from I know not what quarter, hit Mustepha-qhan in the heart, and went through and through his

The Afghans
victorious a
third time are
worsted - storm
of again; and
Mustepha-qhan
is slain.

body: but by this time our small troops had exerted themselves so bravely that the ground was strewed with his dead and wounded. The rest seeing their general slain, and such a slaughter about his elephant, did not think it proper to contend any more, and fled every one as his mind prompted him: even his son that brave intrepid soldier, hearing of his father's death, turned about and fled: the Governor arriving at this time, ordered Hashem-aali-qhan, his gentleman usher to get up on the elephant and to bring down Mustepha-qhan's head; and this having been done, it was immediately fixed on a spear, and sent through the ranks: after which it was sent to the Emperor (Mahmed-shah); but his body was sent to Azimabad, with orders to commit it to the earth, after having carried it through the market and through the principal streets. The order was going to be executed, but the inhumation was opposed by Mir-mahmed-mergeshy, one of the most illustrious Séyds, born at Sh8ster, in Iran (35): a personage remarkable for his piety and virtue, who had once undertaken to bring about a pacification between the two parties. This gentleman affirmed that he had seen in a dream the *Prince of Saints, Aaly M8rtexa* (36) giving him orders to strike that inimical Afghan with a sabre; and as he did not obey instantly, his Majesty had taken the sabre himself, and smitten him twice and a half upon his own loins. The holy man hearing that the Afghan's body had been severed from his head, and would be committed to the earth, after having been rolled through the city, fastened to an elephant's foot, said that he was sorry for it; for according to his dream, his body was first to be cut in two, and then only buried. These words having been reported to the governor, he ordered the body to be cut in two, and one part to be hung at the western gate, and the other at the eastern; and this order having been executed, after a deal of time his members became offensive, and having been let down, each part was buried where it had been hang-

(35) This Sh8ster is called S8s in registers, and is the Sufa of the Greeks, one of the ancient Capitals of the Persian Empire.

(36) Aaly's title is *M8rtexa* or the pleasing and agreeable, he being with Mahomet the only living man mentioned in the Coran. Mahomet's title is Mustepha, that is the select.

ing. M8rteza-qhan, who whilst others were yet fighting, had quitted the field with numbers that followed him, probably had remembered the Poet's saying " Better to live merry with a living friend, than to be weeping over the body of a dead one. He thought so himself, and made the best of his way out of that scene of slaughter, after which he took shelter in the mountains: but Yaffa-qhan, brother to Mustepha-qhan's consort, was taken prisoner, and after a few days confinement, was dismissed with a present of wearing apparel, and some money to bear his expences to his home. Dil-shir-qhan, son to Shimshir-qhan's sister, and younger brother to Morad-shir-qhan, having received three wounds, one of which was by a musket ball which traversed his body at the navel, had fallen senseless on the ground, and he was reputed dead: when the governor passing that way, recollected that he had been his play-fellow in his childhood; and observing signs of life in him, he ordered him to be placed on his Paleky and carried to his tent, where able Chirurgeons were ordered to attend him: but to no purpose: the wounds proving past remedy, he expired the third day. Aalef-qhan, son in law to Serdar-qhan, was one of those who fled with M8rteza-qhan, and saved his life. The governor after having returned his humble acknowledgements to God Almighty for so signal a victory, alighted in Mustepha-qhan's tent, where he received the respects and nuzurs of his commanders and officers: at night he retired to Abdol-aali-qhan, my uncle's tent, where he took pleasure in expatiating with many encomiums upon his heroical valor, and the eminent share he had had in the victory; and as Mustepha-qhan's elephant, standard, and kettle-drum, had been seized by Abdol-aali-qhan, after the battle, the governor, having ordered the musick to play, requested him to keep the whole; and in his letters of congratulation to the Viceroy his grandfather, he requested his interest at court, to the end that the above insignia might be confirmed to his friend. The Viceroy hearing of the signal success, obtained by his nephew's alertness and bravery, and informed of the eminent share which

Abdol-aali-qhan

Abdol-aali-qhan, his relation had in it, sent to each of them an elephant, a rich Qhylaats, a poniard, and a sabre with a hilt of gold enriched with jewels. The two heroes hearing of these tokens of approbation, went out of the city to Djaaser-qhan's garden to receive the presents with the usual demonstrations of respect on such occasions; and having their Qhylaats on, they made a profound bow towards Bengal, and then mounted together to make their entry into the city of Azimabad, with a great deal of pomp and magnificence. In a couple of months after, a kettle-drum and standard came from the Emperor for the brave Abdol-aali-qhan.

SECTION VI.

Of the SEIR MUTAQHERIN, or a REVIEW of MODERN TIMES,

Contents of the Sixth Section.

THE government of Sressa given to a Gentoo, who is bubbled out of his post by the Fakirs in the Marhatta Rhago-dji's interest—Vigorous answer given by Aali-verdi-qhan to the Marhatta proposals—Rhago-dji rejoins—The refuged Afghans rescued and taken into pay by the Marhattas—A coolness and then a sharp dialogue between the governor of Azimabad and Abdol-aaly-qhan—A sharp action between Aali-verdi-qhan and the Marhattas—Another action in which Dost-mahmed-qhan, a new man, distinguishes himself—The Marhattas overthrown at Catwa with great slaughter,—Aali-verdi-qhan tired of the war—Treachery in the Afghans of the Bengal army, discovered—He celebrates the nuptials of his two grand sons, Seradj-ed-dò8la and Ceram-ed-dò8la—Some account of Mirza-yredj-qhan, father-in-law to Seradj-ed-dò8la—Some account of Mir-C8bra,—Mir-Djaafer-qhan and Ata-ollah-qhan conspire against Aali-verdi-qhan—The conspiracy discovered and punished—The Marhattas defeated a fourth time—The governor of Azimabad aspires to independence, and takes the disbanded Afghans in his pay—Who conspire against him—And murder him.—The Afghans spread throughout the city, which they plunder.—The murderers resolved to stand their ground against Aali-verdi-qhan.—Affecting speech of the latter to his troops—He provides for his capital, and marches to Azimabad—Brave defence made by Din-mahmed—The Marhattas join the Afghans at Azimabad.—Pretensions of the latter against them.—Battle of Barr, near Azimabad, where the murdering generals are all slain, and their troops put to the sword.—The Viceroy sends for the Ladies of the Afghan generals, and treats them with the utmost decency—His extreme delicacy and generosity on their account.

IT must be remembered that Aali-verdi-qhan had borne his part in the second campaign against Mustepha-qhan; and it was then that intelligence came to camp of Rhago-dji Bhossah's having invaded the Sressa. This invasion was brought about in the following manner: Abdol-res8l-qhan governor of Sressa had payed so much regard to the rupture between his uncle and Aali-verdi-qhan, as to quit his post, and to go over with his whole brigade to Mustepha-qhan's

assistance. He had left the government to a Nàib or deputy of his, which he appointed, without however meddling with Radja D8lobram, who had been appointed his agent-general by the Viceroy, and was son to a prime minister: of course on the governor's desertion, the government devolved on this Gentoo, to whom the Patent and insignia of Governor came from M8rsh8dabad soon after. But D8lobram was unfit for such an office: scrupulously attached to his religious practices, he was much addicted to the company of Brahmans and Sanyassees, (37) or Gentoo Fakyr, who intirely governed him; whereas he seemed averse to the company of his military officers, most of whom were Musulmen; and it is observable that most of those Sanyassees were Rhago-djibhossah's spies; who thereby receiving frequent intelligence of D8lobram's contemptible conduct, and of the weakness of his government, erected his scheme upon that knowledge. He was confirmed in his resolution by letters which he then received from Mustepha-qhan, who invited him to a community of interests and warfare; the Marhatta Prince, who since his general's murder, was like an untrodden snake, retired within its hole, from whence he watched the moment of revenge, looked upon this invitation as on a particular interposition from heaven in his behalf: putting himself therefore at the head of fourteen thousand horse, he marched towards Bengal, crossed the mountainous tracts betwixt his dominions and 8ressa, and arrived on the frontiers of that country: whilst D8lobram, meanly busy with his Sanyassees on the shore of the river, was kept in so gross an ignorance, that the enemy was close upon him, before he had suspected any thing of the matter. Mir-abdol-aziz, that worthy officer, and venerable Séyd of Semana, of whom we have some while ago made mention, had some how got intelligence of the enemies being close.

(37) These Fakyr, either go intirely naked, or just cover their privities, and no more, if penitent. There are some others, who live in troops together, and are considerable mechanics, marching in droves, and keeping thieves and banditti's assistance: they wear a turbant, a piece of linen round their loins, and a kind of Dopata or sheet, which occasionally covers the whole body: all that is of a fair brick colour. That they have no women among themselves, is certain; but it is universally reported that they are not scrupulous on another article, infinitely more criminal.

and

and at hand; and on the first intelligence, he got upon his horse, and went to court immediately with about twenty troopers, that were at hand, giving orders to his people to mount, and follow him without loss of time: being arrived at D8lobram's door, he found that he was asleep yet, and knew nothing of the Marhattas; and a full hour more was spent in waiting for his rising: meanwhile a general uproar having risen throughout the city of Catec, people began to fly and provide for their safety; It was then, and not sooner, that D8lobram being awakened, came out half naked, and without a turban, and in that condition, got into his Paleky, with intention to take shelter in the castle of Bhara-Bhaty, which was not far off. Mir-abdol-aziz was following him with the troops that were with him: they were advancing together, when at some distance, but still within the city, he stopped a while to speak to one of his men, and on turning his head about, he saw some Marhatta troopers busy in stripping people, and D8lobram on foot, endeavouring to skulk about some ruined houses; on sight of this, he ran forwards, and seizing him by the arm, he reproached him with his cowardice. "Why are you frightened, cried he, and why do you render yourself contemptible? get upon this horse, and follow me: these are no more than people intent on plunder and sac: believe me, there is time yet to retire into the Castle; and rest assured that I will not leave you here." D8lobram, recovering from his fright, mounted upon his horse, and was immediately surrounded by the officer's troopers, who carried him safe to the gate of the castle. Meanwhile some of D8lobram's soldiers joined him, as did some detached soldiers from the other corps by a few at a time; so that in a little time he found himself with a good number of troops in and about the fortress. But Rhago-dji arriving a little after, besieged the castle immediately; and D8lobram was now frightened in earnest; and being informed also that Aali-verdi-qhan, his master was gone on an expedition against Mustepha-qhan, he yielded to the intreaties and suggestions of the Sanyassees, who proposed to medi-

ate

ate an agreement; and he resolved to make himself easy, as he wanted no more than his life. With this view he held a consultation with his commanders and officers: some of these out of compliment to their governor, voted for an immediate surrender; and some thought it was too late to make any effectual resistance in so unprepared a station: But they were opposed by Mir-Abdol-aziz and some others, who thought such a surrender dishonorable to their master Ali-verdi-qhan, and disgraceful to themselves; and they were for fighting and defending the place. D8lobram inclined to an agreement; and he was deluded into it by his Sanyassees at last. After many days conferences D8lobram came out of the fortrefs, and went to pay a visit to the Marhatta prince, accompanied by all his commanders and officers, and even by a brother of Mir-Abdol-aziz, who came out with ten or twelve of his men. But that commander himself, with three or four hundred of his soldiers, remained in the Fort, together with a number of towns men who had taken shelter in it. D8lobram after his visit, wanted to return home; but was prevented by the Marhatta, who objected to his returning in the heat of the day, and desired his accepting of an entertainment prepared in a tent set-up for his taking some rest: he also distributed the governor's officers amongst his own commanders, recommending their being handsomely used and entertained, like so many guests. The officers seeing an entertainment spread for them, soon layed down their arms, loosened their girdles, and having partaken of the entertainment, they retired to take some rest; but on their waking-up they found themselves prisoners and in confinement; and every one of them repented, but too late, of his credulity. On hearing of this treachery Mir-Abdol-aziz assumed the command of the fortrefs, and prepared for its defense. The prince disappointed, sent him his own brother, to persuade him to a surrender; and this brother was accompanied by envoys which D8lobram himself had sent to his people for the same purpose. Abdol-aziz answered his own brother in these terms: " Sir, tell Rhago-dji that at present

" I

“ I have neither brother nor master : we are servants to one lord, who is
 “ Aali-verdi-qhan the formidable in war. Some ungrateful cowards have
 “ gone over to you, and listened to your words, but as for us, we shall de-
 “ fend this fortress, as becomes faithful soldiers, and as long as breath shall re-
 “ main in our bosoms; and this is our last resolution.” The brave commander
 proved as good as his word; and for a month and some days, he sustained a
 vigorous siege. These events were taking place, at the very time when the
 Viceroy of Bengal recalled by the solicitations of Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, his
 nephew, who announced Rhago-dji's invasion in the Bressa, had quitted his ex-
 pedition of Azim-abad, to return to Bengal. Although he heard of D8lobram's
 being entrapped, and of Abdol-aziz's still defending himself, yet he forbore
 moving to his assistance, as he wanted to manage Rhago-dji, and had sent to
 him a gentleman, lately come from Dehly, called Munaam-aali-qhan a person
 of eloquence and abilities. Rhago-dji, ascribing such an unexpected step
 to conscious weakness, answered “ that he could not return home, unless he was
 complimented with three corors of rupees.” The Viceroy embarrassed in his
 circumstances, spun out the negociation to a length, until hearing of Musse-
 pha-qhan's defeat, he first of all returned his humble acknowledgement to God
 Almighty, and then taking another stile with the Marhatta Prince, he turned a
 new leaf with him, and sent him the following message : *an agreement brought
 about by dint of money, is the effect of either impotence, or some great hope: as to the first,
 I inform you that by God's blessing, the intrepid warriors, those lions averse of slaugh-
 ter and blood, are more covetous than ever of another engagement with you, and more
 desirous of fighting than hunters are of getting at their prey. And as to the second
 article, I must tell you, that they cannot expect any benefit from entering into a treaty
 with so unfortunate and so ill fated a commander as you: matters standing thus, the
 agreement you expect cannot be brought about but by a battle, when the lions giddy
 with the fumes of an approaching slaughter, shall swim over the bloody plain, shall
 drag the Crocodiles of Barar to the slaughter, and tinge the element with streams of
 3 Q their*

Vigorous mes-
 sage sent by Al-
 il-verdi-qhan to
 the Marhatta's
 proposal.

their blood: then and not sooner, whoever shall have obtained the victory, will have it in his power to propose an agreement to his own mind. Rhago-dji on receiving this message, resolutely answered in these words: “ I am come from a thousand
 “ cosses distance to encamp in this corner of the dominions of your majestuous highness, (39) and do not see that you have as yet moved so little
 “ as a hundred cosses to receive your guests. ” This answer produced the following reply: “ What you observe is nothing but truth; however
 “ the reason is that the rainy season is at hand: please therefore to take
 “ some rest; and rest assured that so soon as that season is over, I shall
 “ not only move to meet you, as my guest, but shall have the politeness
 “ to reconduct you as far as your own home.” Rhago-dji after this message advanced towards Birbohom where he took up his quarters; from hence by parties he brought under his power the whole province of Sressla as far as Midnip8r and Hedjly, together with great part of the Bardevan. All this while the brave Mir-Abdol-aziz was defending the fortrefs of Bhara-bhaty; but the place being ill furnished for a long defence, and above all wanting provisions, he agreed to surrender it on condition of having his person, honor, and baggage safe, as well as that of his people; and that none of them should be forced to take party with the Marhattas. This treaty was insured by a paper sent him by Rhago-dji under his hand and seal, and under the hands and seals of all his principal commanders, who signed as guarantees to the performance of the articles: on these conditions he surrendered the fortrefs; and after having tarried a few days in the Marhatta camp, he took his leave of the Marhatta prince, and went to M8rsh8dabad. D3lobram remained a prisoner one full year, or even some months more; nor was he released but by the mediation of some Bankers, who paid a ransom of three lacs of rupees for him: after which he returned to M8rsh8dabad, where the Viceroy repayed the money to his father, a minister with whose faithful services he was perfectly satisfied.

[(39) Me habet-djung, or the majestic in battles was the title which the Viceroy went by,

WHILST the Marhatta Prince was encamped in the Birbohum, there came letters and petitions from M8rteza-qhan and B8lend-qhan, and the other Afghan officers who had taken shelter in the mountains of Macri-cogh after the loss of the battle. The Zemindars of those parts had suffered them to build themselves huts in those mountains, but cast a wishful eye upon some of those things which those refugees had been able to bring with them: on the other hand, the Zemindars of Sarferam, named Pahluvan-sing, and Sot-hur-sing had received letters from the governor of Bahar, which recommended their taking care, that those refugees should not find means to escape. But by this time, the Afghans tired with living in a country infested with myriades of snakes and ants, and to exist likemen buried alive, had of themselves repeatedly written in the humblest terms to Rhago-dji, to supplicate “ his taking the trouble of
 “ coming to their assistance; and they promised, in case of their being delivered
 “ from their loathsome habitations, to addict their whole lives to his service,
 “ without quitting his standards, unless dismissed.” They added, “ that they
 “ would ever keep that favour of his as a ring hanging at their ears, and
 “ would carry all their lives on their shoulders the trappings of attachment
 “ and sincerity.” Rhago-dji finding his advantage in attaching to his person and cause some thousand Afghans, all old soldiers, equipped at all points, set out for Berbohum a little before the end of the rains, and taking his route over the mountains of that country, and through the hills and vallies of Carrick-p8r, he in his way across the province of Azim-abad, sacked and plundered the town of Ticcary and Sheh-p8ra, with their whole territory: after which he forded the Sohon, went into the hills of Sarferam, and delivered the Afghans from their misery; he then descended into the plain, and encamped at Arvel. His army by the junction of the Afghans, amounted now to full twenty thousand horse. Immediately after him, Aali-verdi-qhan arrived at Azim-abad at the head of twelve thousand horse, all old soldiers, determined to put an end to his quarrel with the Marhattas. His
 nephew

The refugied
 Afghans joined
 by the Marhattas.

nephew, the Governor of the Province went out to a great distance to meet him; and had the honor of kissing his uncle's footsteps; after which he remained some time in camp, Aali-verdi-qhan having been pleased to spend some days in enjoying his relations, kinsmen, and friends.

AND here it must be mentioned that some months before his arrival, a coolness and indifference had taken place between the Governor of Azimabad and Abdol-ali-qhan; and the coolness increasing, their faces had been obscured with the dust of so much discontent and disgust, that the former love and union had been succeeded by separation and distance. The subject was a certain note which the Governor had written to Abdol-ali-qhan, in which were some sharp expressions, the purport and sense of which was this: "My brother Radja Kyret-chund, has received wounds in the battle against Mustepha-qhan, and has rendered many services: and what has done your Lordship, that you should require so much gratitude at my hands, and require it as your due?" Abdol-ali-qhan shocked at the drift of the note, abstained from going to court; but on the Viceroy's arrival, who was his maternal uncle, he resolved to attach himself to him, after having quitted the governor's service, he intended henceforward to spend the remainder of his life in that Prince's court, and to follow him to M8rsh8-dabad. With this view, he once after dinner, remained on purpose in the Prince's tent where there were then only a few persons, such as Hadji-ahmed; his son the Governor, and myself: and finding the moment favourable, he brought the discourse upon himself, and mentioned his intention: observing that he had now given up all his connections at Azimabad, and wished to spend the remainder of his days in his uncle's service, as he could no more bear to live in the Governor's court. The Viceroy, who wanted to sooth his mind, answered with mildness, "that such was the complexion of the present times, that diffentions were arising between a son and his father, and enmity had been conceiv'd by a brother against a brother; he added, that he had lived to see

such

A coolness and then a sharp contest between the governor of Azimabad and Abdol-ali-qhan.

“ such things (he alluded in this to a very indecent dispute that had happened two
 “ or three days ago, between Sáid-ahmed-qhan and Hadji-ahmed, his father,
 “ upon a small object, in which himself (Aali-verdi-qhan,) had mediated a
 “ reconciliation.) If such disagreeable quarrels and enmities can find their way
 “ amongst fathers and sons, continued he, and between brothers and brothers,
 “ where is the wonder that there should arise a dissatisfaction between you and
 “ Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, who are sons only of two uncles? Abdol-aali-qhan answered coldly, *that if quarrels should happen between brothers and children, he did not wonder at it, as they were coheirs; but that he did not comprehend, why he, who was no more than a servant, should become the object of a quarrel? If I am fit for any thing, added he, let me be kept on an honorable footing; and if I am not so, dismiss me at once, without wounding my delicacy with disagreeable expressions and odious reflections, which I cannot bear with any regard to my honour. What means such a letter as this, for instance? and who is that Kyret-chund, that such a pimp should be compared with, and even preferred, to me?* At this expression, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan took fire: his colour changed; and he said
 “ that he would risk his life to defend the honour and character of a Kyret-
 “ chund.” He added, “ that Kyret-chund was he, whose father’s slippers had
 “ been carried by the ancestor’s of every one: by all:” (In this he alluded to this particular, that Kyret-chund’s father was Prime Minister or Divan to Shujah-qhan, and the fountain head of all preferment, at a time when Hadji-ahmed and his younger brother Aali-verdi-qhan, made their appearance at that court) Abdol-aali-qhan answered coldly, “ that as his father had never carried
 “ the slippers of any one’s father, he did not see why Kyret-chund should be
 “ a man of so much importance for him.” The conversation growing warm, the Viceroy interposed, by desiring Abdol-aly-qhan to contain himself; and he added these words: *pray, friend, why do you become angry? Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan’s allusion refers to me.* At these words of Aali-verdi-qhan’s, the nephew held his tongue, and did not offer another syllable; and

A sharp difference in the Viceroy's family, made up.

the dispute subsided. A few days after, the Viceroy sent for his nephew in a private closet, and after having spoke to him, he desired his living upon good terms with Abdol-ali-qhan; at the same time, he sent for the latter, and obtained of him as well as of the other, that they should embrace each other, and that their dissatisfaction should be brought to an end.

AFTER this transaction, Aaly-verdi-qhan accompanied by his two Nephews, and by Ata-ollah-qhan and Seradj-ed-dól8lah, decamped from Bankyp8r, and went to encamp at Nobut-p8r, without being able to find one single Marhatta by the way. In advancing farther, many screams were heard, and a moment after, it was found that the noise arose from some Marhatta troopers, who having fallen upon the baggage, had disappeared immediately with some plunder. The next day, having ranged his army in battle, and supported his flanks by artillery, he moved forwards; and it was remarked that there were not less than six persons in that army that enjoyed the honor of a kettle-drum, and no less than five, that were honoured with the insignia of the mahy or fish. The commanders of the Van-guard or the first line were Mir-djaaffer-qhan, and Shimshir-qhan the Afghan: at his right Ata-ollah-qhan and Serdar-qhan; at his left, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan. The flank was put under the care of Sayd-ahmed-qhan who was supported by Sheh-Djehan-yar, and by Omer-qhan. Rahem-qhan was seated on the Elephant that carried the Viceroy's main standard; and that prince was in the centre with a choice body of troops, commanded by Fakyr-Oollah-beg-qhan, and N8r-ollah-beg-qhan, and some other officers of character. The army, marched the whole night in that order of battle, eager to meet the enemies, and desirous of an engagement; but no enemy appeared: only at day-break some of their horse were seen at a great distance from the reach of cannon, plundering some defenceless villages; and the victorious army continuing its march, arrived at the Ranie's reservoir near Muhely-p8r, where it encamped. Rhago-dji happened to be encamped thereabouts also, without ever suspecting that the enemy by a forced march would overtake him there. Mirdjaaffer-qhan

ghan and Shimshir-ghan, who commanded the vanguard, and were the foremost, fell at once upon the enemy; and Rhago-dji surpris'd, but not dismayed, mounted immediately, without having time to range his army in battle; but he was directly surrounded by his guards; and the different Corps of the Marhattas mounting successively, attacked the enemy in order to disengage their general: a furious engagement took place between Mir-Djaaffer-ghan and them; and the combat became so serious, that a report ran unanimously, that Rhago-dji had never escaped, but for a neglect of Shimshir-ghan's, or possibly by his treachery. In a little time the Viceroy himself came to the support of his troops, and the enemy was giving way. But whilst those two commanders were engaged with a body of Marhattas, we who were with Abdol-ali-ghan, were all engaged with another. That officer had only his brigade against some thousands of them; yet he stood his ground, until Medy-neffar-ghan mounted upon Sayd-ahmed-ghan's standard elephant, joined us with a body of troops: here a deal of mutual slaughter ensued, and great things were intended, when night came on, and parted the combatants. The enemy giving way retired farther, and halted; and the Viceroy not chusing to advance in the dark, stay'd where he was, and pass'd the night in a small tent provided for him, and for him only; for all the principal commanders of the army, that is, his two nephews and a very few others, took shelter under some trees: the rest of the army stood where it was; nor did any one know what had become of the baggage; nor did any one in so dark a night, chuse to venture afar in quest of it. Some more impatient than others pass'd the whole night in inquiries, and fill'd the whole army with cries and tumult. Abdol-Aaly-ghan, with the poorman and Allah-yar-ghan, half brother to the Viceroy, and some other persons of distinction, pass'd the whole night watching in the Viceroy's tent. At day break the baggage was found in a neighbouring plain, abandon'd by all, but untouched. The poorman's baggage, as well as that of Abdol-aaly-ghan's was found also without a man to watch over it; but yet untouched. Every

Engagement
between the
Bengal army,
and the Marhat-
tas.

one having refreshed himself, the army marched again. The Viceroy offering battle every day to the enemy, and every day in vain, became tired of their backwardness; and he left the business to his officers, who would every day beat some party of the Marhattas, and always with loss to those ravagers. It was in those days that it appeared that the two Afghan Commanders were traitors in their hearts; at least, it was then that Aali-verdi-qhan conceived suspicions against them.

I REMEMBER that once being myself seated within the inner apartment of the Navvab-begum, consort to Aali-verdi-qhan, he came himself unexpectedly, and having taken his seat, he seemed grieved and thoughtful. The princess having reproached him for that behaviour of his, and asked the meaning of his appearing with so clouded an aspect, he answered in these words: *I know not what is the matter; but I find some uncommon appearance amongst my people.* The Princess anxious about her consorts disquietude, pitched upon two men of parts and character, and sent them as from herself, and in her own name to Rhago-dji: the first was Muzaffer-aaly-qhan-Bahadyr: the second was Faky-aaly-qhan, Son to Hadji-abdollah, called the writer or historian, who had been Divan at B8rhamp8r in the times of the Emperor Aorengzib. They had orders to procure a pacification upon an equality, if they saw any overture for it. The envoys having landed at Mir-Habib's, who was the main supporter of all Rhago-dji's schemes, were introduced by him, and they delivered their message. The Marhatta, who had been often vanquished, and did not think himself a match for Aali-verdi-qhan, was glad of such a proposal; but Mir Habib, who was the Viceroy's mortal enemy, did not consent to it; and he turned Rhago-dji's mind intirely, advising him to avail himself of his superiority in horte to give the enemy the slip, so as to arrive before him at M8rsh8-dabad, where Nevazish mahmed-qhan commanded without troops, and where mighty things might be done. Rhago-dji relishing the advice, took to the road of Moorshoodabad, and was immediately followed by the Bengal army. But as part of the provisions that followed it had been forsaken and lost some days

days ago, and none were procured but by force and with dint of sabre, victuals became dear in camp, and then scarce, and at last invisible; the country round being so ruined, as to furnish none at all: in addition to all those evils, the River Sohon having become fordable, did not afford sufficient security, to the boats that might have brought provisions. It was in such a distressed condition that Aali-Verdi-qhan continued his march along the Sohon; and it was in one of these marches, that he was joined by two officers of valor and renown, both in Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan's service: they were both covered with wounds. These were Meh-ta-djesvent-nagur, and Mir-gh8lam-ashruff: they had both been detained at Azimabad for some urgent business; and when it was done, they had resolved to join their master, and to prove thereby their zeal and attachment to his service. Although the roads were scoured day and night by the enemy's horses, and there was no passing undiscovered, nevertheless without minding the times, they had the imprudence to sally forth from the city, and to advance towards the army with a small number of brave men that chose to stand by them. But they did not go far: the Marhattas having overtaken them, wanted to plunder and strip them; and as they refused to submit to that indignity, they were surrounded and attacked with spears and long swords; and a sharp engagement took place, in which the enemy mixed contumelious language with heavy blows: at last both those officers were dangerously wounded, and both were felled to the ground; and both were stripped; and their baggage was plundered and rifled. Nor was it but some time after, that they recovered so far their senses, as to arrive at the army, both naked, and both very much wounded: the Gentoo officer in particular, having lost the whole of his nose by a stroke of a sabre. It was over a country so totally ruined that Aali-verdi-qhan arrived at Azimabad, where having observed that Rhago-dji was hastening his march, he quitted that city, to follow the enemy to Baghal-poor, where having advanced towards the river that runs by Cham-

panagur, a suburb of that town, he took shelter under some trees, from whence he sent forwards the Brigade he had with him, together with most of the officers present; and these had orders to look out for a proper encampment. Rhago-Dji who was always well informed, availed himself of that opportunity; and turning the Brigade, he suddenly made his appearance at the head of five or six thousand horse. The Viceroy without betraying the least perturbation or fear, assembled those about him, and they did not amount to above six hundred persons of all sorts, and putting himself at their head, he advanced to the enemy, and charged vigorously. He had at that time with him an officer whom he had lately retained in his service, and who in paying his respects, had spoke very advantageously of himself, and required a great deal of distinction: the Viceroy recollecting the circumstance, now sent for Dost-mahmed-qhan, (for such was the man's name) "and he told him that this was " the time to approve himself the man he had pretended to be, and to shew " himself worthy of those distinctions which he had claimed as his due." The man, without waiting for an other word, put his horse on a gallop, and spying a body of men that cut a better figure than the rest (and in fact it was Rhago-dji himself surrounded by his best mounted spearmen,) he rushed amongst them, overthrew one man, killed another, wounded a third, and seized a fourth, with which he came back to Aali-verdi-qhan, to whom he presented his prisoner, and who loaded him with encomiums. By this time assistance had come; and Rhago-dji being surrounded in his turn with this body of horse, was amply regaled with every thing which musquets, sabres, and spears could afford; so that finding that he could stand no more, he turned about, and fled: his troops after having plundered some baggage, took to flight also. But this action did not please Rhago-dji at all: keeping the high road became unsuitable to his circumstances, as it was impossible but the two armies would meet at last; and being unwilling to engage any more, he gave the enemy the slip, with intention to be before hand with him about M8rsh8dabad. The Marhatta therefore

Another engagement, in which Dost-mahmed-qhan distinguishes himself.

therefore moved from Bagalpur, struck to the right, and got into the hilly country; and Aali-verdi-qhan having wrote to his nephew at the capital to be upon his guard, advanced by forced marches; and he was so lucky as to arrive at the city one day after the arrival of Rhago-dji's, who had already burned and sacked the two Suburbs of Chapàideh, and that called Mir-Djaafer-qhan's garden. But on the Viceroy's arrival, he did not think proper to remain so near him: decamping therefore immediately, he wheeled towards the southern and western suburbs of the city. The Viceroy having given three or four days rest to his army, marched on through the out-skirts of the city, and went to encamp at Amany-gundj: from whence he advanced on the enemy, and having overtaken him at the Rany's reservoir, close to Catwa, there ensued a sharp engagement, in which such a slaughter was made of the Marhattas, that Rhago-dji despaired of success; and fearing the destruction of his whole army, he turned about, and fled so earnestly, that henceforward he avoided the open plain, and availed himself of the skirts of the hilly country on the western back of Bengal. Aali-verdi-qhan continued pursuing without ceasing; and Rhago-dji having consulted his generals, it was thought proper, as they had lost so many of their men in their last engagement, to make the best of their way to their own country, from whence they had received terrible news a few days ago: leaving therefore two or three thousand Marhatta horse, and six or seven thousand Afghans, under the command of Mir-Habib, the Marhatta prince departed, very much humbled by the ill success of his expedition; and news were coming one after another that he intended to quit Bengal, until at last it was found he had really quitted the very frontiers of it.

Battle of Catwa in which the Marhattas are slaughtered.

THIS campaign had an advantageous appearance: the enemy had been beaten and expelled: but the army fatigued by such repeated campaigns, and exceeded with toil in the last, had grown tired off the war; and Aali-verdi-qhan perceived that officers as well soldiers were equally weary with himself:

Aali-verdi-qhan
tired of the war.

himself: he wanted himself some release from his toils, and wished to enjoy some rest, as having a variety of purposes in view: he intended to marry the sons of his several daughters; and to prepare necessaries for the ceremonies: he wanted to gain the hearts of the soldiery by affording them some release: he had some refractory Zemindars to bring to order: lastly, the wish of his heart was to enjoy the nuptials of Seradj-ed-dö8la, and Eeram-eddö8lah his two darling grandsons. All those objects required his presence in the city, to which he immediately returned; and first of all he applied himself to business, and especially to that of quieting the country, and affording some relief to the wearied husbandman: he next turned his views towards refitting the necessaries of war, and promoting his officers according to their merits. Dost-mahmed-qhan, that officer who had continued to distinguish himself in the late campaign, and was now rising up to that favor which he enjoyed in its height some years after, was promoted to the command of a brigade, and complimented with many favors: as did Mir-cazem-qhan, who was also promoted to the command of a brigade: this officer enjoyed already the title of *Bahadyr* or valiant, and had distinguished himself eminently. These two officers having conceived an affection for each other, marched together, attacked together, and were performing together heroical actions in imitation of each other: their characters rising daily in the estimation of the public, as well as their mutual attachment to each other, they came at last to be the most renowned commanders in the Bengal army; and it must be acknowledged, that they were both officers of inestimable merit; and that whenever an opportunity offered, they did not fail to perform such valorous actions, as acquired them the admiration of their brother officers, and the applause of the public, in bestowing which both enemies and friends became unanimous.

WE have already mentioned that in the engagement with Rhago-dji at the Rani's reservoir Shimshir-qhan had suffered him to escape; and that a little after, indices of defection and treason had appeared in the behaviour of two of
Aali-verdi-qhan's

Aali-verdi-qhan's principal commanders, namely the Afghans Shimshir-qhan and Serdar-qhan. Such a discovery could not but impress the Viceroy with sorrow and inquietude, especially with regard to the latter. In the sequel there appeared some further indices, and something like a concert between these two commanders and the Marhattas. So many extraordinary proceedings of their's which hitherto had appeared unaccountable, were now ascribed to that cause, in so much that their master had long ago ceased to repose any confidence in them. The principal of those indices appeared on the following occasion: on Rhago-dji's arrival in the environs of M8rsh8dabad, and even whilst he was encamped in the Birbohum, the rains were drawing to their end, and the entrance of the river Bagraty becoming fordable, the boats who used to come laden with provisions, had ceased to come directly to the city, and were obliged to land them at Bagvangolah, at six or seven cosses distance, from whence only they could be brought over a tract of land; and as the road was infested with perpetual parties of the enemy's, the provisions could not come up, unless escorted by commanders of character and trust. It was for these reasons that the Viceroy, who remained encamped at Amany-gundj, on the southern side of the city, appointed the two Afghan officers to escort the provisions, and to keep the road clear of the enemy's incursions: but this precaution did not prevent the provisions and oxen from being several times plundered and seized. So many miscarriages having raised a suspicion in the Viceroy's mind, he appointed his own nephew Sâyd-ahmed-qhan to take care of the safety of the roads; and this service having been effectually performed, the former miscarriages recurred to his mind, and were attributed to a want of fidelity; and the suspicions being confirmed by subsequent proceedings of their's, that had been hitherto doubtful, cautions were given to his most trusty commanders to beware of them, and to be on the watch. It was conjectured now that the neglect of which those two commanders were guilty, and the undutiful behaviour for which they had been remarkable, were foment-

Treachery
of the Afghans
in the Bengal
army.

ed by connections with Rhago-dji; and even some shrewd persons affirmed that the Marhatta had gained over to his party on one hand Ata-ollah-qhan, on promise of bestowing upon him the government of Azim-abad, when it should be conquered; and on the other, had attached to his interest the two Afghan commanders by a promise of a lac of rupees in money, with the command of twelve thousand horse, if they could manage so as make away with Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, the governor of the province; and in case the city of Azim-abad should be taken by their means, they were to have two lacs of rupees more, and the Fodjary of Derbanga, over and above the command of the twelve thousand horse promised: letters were passing likewise between the two parties. Others, however, were of opinion, that those two men being ambitious, and at the head of a great force, had of themselves conceived aspiring thoughts of dominion, and had applied to the Marhatta general for his support. Be it as it may, these two commanders, either because they resigned of themselves the service, or because indices of a malevolent disposition had been perceived in their conduct, were both dismissed about the year 1159.

Aali-verdi-qhan celebrates the nuptials of his two grandsons, Seradj-ed-dö8lah and E-cram ed-dö8lah.

It was in this same year and at the beginning of the rains, that Aali-verdi-qhan assembled his relations and friends of Azim-abad, to celebrate the nuptials of his favorite grandsons, Seradj-ed-dö8lah and E-cram-ed-dö8lah. Hadji-ahmed, their paternal grand-father, had for some particular reasons excused himself, and did not come to the feast; But Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan and Abdol-ali-qhan arrived with their consorts, families, and dependants. The nuptials were celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The feast commenced by the nuptials of E-cram-ed-dö8lah the younger brother: the reason was, that Ata-ollah-qhan's daughter, the virgin that had been betrothed to Seradj-ed-dö8lah, had died two or three years before; and it was intended by marrying E-cram-ed-dö8lah first, to another daughter of that nobleman's, to console and oblige Rabiiah-begum, their mother, a princess, who was

niece

niece to Aali-verdi-qhan, as well as consort to Ata-ollah-qhan. One thousand qhylaats were bestowed on that occasion on the Viceroy's relations, kinsmen, friends, favorite commanders, and household servants; and two thousand more on occasion of Seradj-ed-dö8lah's nuptials; nor was any one of those below a hundred rupees; and numbers were of a thousand, and several more above that sum. Several persons of high distinction were besides complimented with jewels according to their respective rank and station; and for a month together or more there was a continual feasting, and a continual series of entertainments at the palace of Aali-verdi-qhan, and that of his eldest nephew and son-in-law Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, where all comers were received without exception; nor was there a family or middling or low in the city that did not partake of the festivity, by receiving several times tables of dressed victuals, called in India T8rrahs; nor did any one of those T8rrahs cost less than twenty-five rupees, and some did cost a great deal more: and thousands and thousands of such prepared T8rrahs or entertainments were sent all over the city to every Mussulman's house. There is no describing the illuminations, feux de joyes, and the artificial fires that seemed to have set both heaven and earth in a blaze, and to have given the inhabitants of M8rsh8dabad an idea of the garden of Arem (40). It was in this time of public and private festivity, that Sàyd-ahmed-qhan, second nephew and son-in-law to Aali-verdi-qhan, married his own daughter to Fahr-eddin-hufféin-qhan, son to Séif-qhan, to whom she had been betrothed: and as that young nobleman, in consequence of the government and riches hereditary in his own family, was extremely wealthy and opulent, and had made preparatives equal to those of Aali-verdi-qhan himself; Sàyd-ahmed-qhan, who enjoyed high offices and dignities, and was nephew to the reigning prince, felt himself fired with emulation in such a manner, as not to betray the least

(40) Famous gardens in Arabia Felix destroyed by a flood and inundation, a thousand years before Mahomet.

inferiority in his expence: in this manner the three nuptials were celebrated with equal magnificence and pomp. By one of those accidents that disconcert the best layed schemes of men, the virgin, three days after her being carried by the bridegroom to his home, which day is always dedicated to bathing, and is called Chöuty, (41) died suddenly: a death that amazed all the world, and was ascribed by many to a variety of causes, the most probable of which was then reputed to be an indigestion: some ascribed it to the practices of one of the father's favorite women, who took umbrage at the profusion of presents made to the bride. Be it as it will, the bridegroom who if he had acted prudently and moderately, would in all probability have been complimented with another daughter, unaccountably gave way to his suspicions and resentment, and took it into his head that they would make away with him likewise, and that the tragedy was only at its commencement: he quitted M8rth8dabad without taking leave from any of these illustrious princes with whom he had come to contract an alliance, and returned to P8rniah: a precipitation by which he dishonored his character and family, whilst he rendered himself ridiculous by such a want of decorum.

BUT as we have so often mentioned Ata-ollah-qhan, the reader will not object to our giving here some account of that nobleman. Ata-olla-qhan was a near relation of Car-taleb-qhan, who was himself a Cousin-german of Shudjah-qhan, once Viceroy of Bengal. On Aali-verdi-qhan's appointment to the government of Azim-abad, Ata-ollah-qhan had been invested with the government of Acbur-nugur-radjemahl, in which office he remained for a length of years, with the grade of six thousand horse, and the command of as many effectual ones: he was also decorated with the insignia of a fringed Paleky and a Kettle-drum, and with the titles of Yzaz-eddö8lah-bahadyr-

(41) From its being the fourth day. The author passes over the principal reason. Such accidents are not new in a country where they make nothing of surrendering delicate girls of eleven to tall stout men of thirty.

Sabut-djung (42). But we shall soon have occasion to mention him again in this history.

AFTER the death of that daughter of his which had been betrothed to Seradj-eddö8lah, that young prince was married to a daughter of Mirza-fredj-qhan's, a nobleman whose history is in few words as follows: his grandfather Mustepha C8ly-qhan was Divan or Prime-minister to, and in high favor and trust with Aazem-shah, son to Aoreng-zib; and so long as that Prince made his residence at Ahmed-abad, being Viceroy of G8djrät, he was after him the principal man in that kingdom, where he enjoyed the highest offices and dignities. That nobleman had three sons, Acbar-c8ly-qhan, (father to this Mirza-fredj-qhan) Shah-c8ly-qhan, and Mirza-mahmed-naky: all three, noblemen of high rank and character, and greatly esteemed, especially the two former. Mustepha-c8ly-qhan dying in Azem-shah's life time, Shah-c8ly-qhan, to whom that prince had bestowed the command of the artillery some days before his giving battle to his brother Bahadyr-shah, was found amongst the slain; and his elder brother, Ecber-c8ly-qhan, who had been appointed governor of Bagalp8r, repaired to Bengal, where mindful of the consequences of a change of times, he lived with honor and credit during the whole of Feroh-syur's reign. His son Mirza-fredj-qhan, attached himself to the Séyds, and in particular to Hossëin-aali-qhan, the youngest of the two, with whom he was united in friendship, as well as with Ghaáiret-aali-qhan, cousin-german to Hossëin-aali-qhan, with whom he always appeared with splendor at court. On the catastrophe that befel the two Séyds he attached himself to the famous Ser-b8lend-qhan, whom he accompanied into G8djrät, being in high favour with that general. He parted with him however, and repaired to Bengal, where Shudjah-qhan, who knew all his family, and had a high esteem from them all, took him near his person, and always

Some account
of Mirza-seradj-
qhan, father in-
law to Ser-adj-
ed-dö8lah.

(42) The tried in battles, the honored of the state.

shewed him the utmost regard: he was in the battle which Ser-Efraz-qhan gave to Aali-verdi-qhan at Gheriah, where he lost his son, and where he was grievously wounded: after this, he retired to his house at M8rsh8dabad without ever appearing at Court; but Aali-verdi-qhan, who knew his merit, sent for him, took him in his service, and constantly shewed himself his friend and patron: he was much esteemed in that prince's court, and had particular connections with him; and as that prince was fully apprized of the eminent character of all his ancestors, and he knew all the lustre of his family, he proposed to him a match between his daughter and Seradj-ed-dö8lah, to which Ata-ollah-qhan consented. After the consummation of the marriage, the Viceroy desirous to raise his new relation to dignities and employments, bestowed upon him some of the best governments in Bengal, over and above the command of a brigade; and it was this brigade that stood in arms whilst all was festivity in M8rsh8dabad, on account of Seradj-ed-dö8lah's wedding; and it was to him that orders were given to keep a watchful eye upon the quarters of the suspected Afghan commanders. The weddings and festivities being over, Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan and Abdol-ali-qhan with their consorts and families, took their leaves of the Viceroy and their noble relations, and returned to their palaces and offices at Azim-abad. But as soon as they were departed, the two Afghan commanders, who figured amongst the principal officers of the army, as being at the head of six or seven thousand horse of their own nation, suddenly asked and obtained leave to return to Derbanga their native country; and having received their arrears in full, they set out for Mongher, from whence they crossed over in boats; and two months had already elapsed since this departure, when Mir-ali-asghar-kobra, who had been sent for by Ata-ollah-qhan on the fame of his character, made his appearance at M8rsh8dabad.

THIS Mir-ali-asghar-kobra, was a Séyd of the town of Fateh-p8r-sicri, in the province of Mevat, and had been in the service of the famous Emir-qhan,

Viceroy

Viceroy of Illah-abad, who was himself son to another famous Emir-qhan, Viceroy of Cab8l. His father Mir-gholam-ahmed, a very shrewd, and very wary man, was likewise famous for courage and personal prowess. His son, in his youth, attached himself to a Dervish or Fakir, that is a Fryar, who took care to initiate him early into many practices and customs used amongst those sort of people, so that he became an adept in all their arts, and in all their ways of life; and now become himself a proficient, he returned into the world, where he endeavoured by spreading the net of saintship and of holiness, to acquire power and authority; in fact he caught many a fish, and many an idiot, rose into celebrity, and assumed the fir-name of K8bra, that is, the great. But he had forged out another fir-name for himself, and this was that of Maass8m el-arefin: a strange title, the signification of which we must suppose he well knew. In his speeches to his idiot hearers, he made use of such a lofty style, that they thought him endowed with those celestial gifts and graces to which he laid a claim, and which he said had not been communicated to the most glorious prophets and envoys (43). But as he had introduced some new laws about what is lawful and unlawful, (for instance, he held it unlawful to eat hen's eggs,) some intelligent person asked why he had made them unlawful to his disciples? he answered, that he had never said such a thing: but only that for his own part he did not eat any. His followers had trumped up several strange stories about him, for instance, that he once fell into a well, and on his being enquired after, and searched for, he was found standing in the air, without touching the surface of the water: this miracle having been immediately rumoured abroad, about five or six hundred persons flocked to his lodgings, professed their belief in him, and had the honour to be admitted amongst his disciples: in his

Some account of
Mir-ali-afhgar-
kobra.

(43) Maass8m-el-arefin; these words, if they signify any thing at all, may be translated by the expression; *the Infant of the knowing ones*; or possibly, the pure *amongst the knowing ones* (those that have knowledge:) But it may be said, with great truth that the firname being a very odd and very whimsical one, is unintelligible to much more able men than the translator.

youth he had associated to himself a learned young man, with whom he used to retire into a corner, there to read in his presence, some books of grammar and astrology; and having thereby provided himself with store of scientific words in Arabic, he used to retail them to his hearers-at with a deal of emphasis in his discourses. Some persons put questions to him about his knowledge in the sciences; and to these he used to give this answer: *yes, I have learned them all in the school of the most high, in company with my master's sons: there did I make my acquisitions.*" He alluded to the infused science which had been bestowed on the two handsome ones (44). When in company with some new persons, he used to make use of such obscure ambiguous expressions, as made the by-standers suspect that he knew more than he would express; and that he had the gift of seeing into men's hearts, and of guessing at their thoughts. In short he was a shrewd, artificeous, knowing man, who had found means with some of his disciples to be entertained in Emir-qhan's house, where he had a pension. After that nobleman's death, he had the good luck to be mentioned to Ata-ollah-qhan by a certain Vezir-qhan, an Afghan in his service: and that nobleman becoming desirous to see so extraordinary a personage, obtained Aali-verdi-qhan's leave to invite him over; and he sent him a great sum of money, desiring him to accept it for his charges, and to repair speedily to Bengal with all his people. The man on this invitation assumed all the insignia of grandeur, as the fringed Paleky, and the kettle-drum; and drawing together six or seven hundred horse, all of them his relations and disciples, besides a great multitude of other people, that followed on foot, he made his appearance in Azimabad, with a retinue and a pomp that impressed every one with respect and awe. It was in the year eleven hundred and sixty. After tarrying two or three days in the outskirt of the city, he continued his route to Mirshadabad. In that short stay of his, he was visited by men of the highest distinction and rank, such as Hadji-ahmed, and Abdol-aaly-qhan, who hear-

(44) The handsome ones, as their very name import, are Hassen, and Hossein, born to Aally by Fatemah, the Prophet's daughter.

ing of his fame and struck with his celestial gifts and celestial qualifications, flocked to see him; and he returned their visits with a great deal of composure. It is in Abdol-aali-qhan's house that, I, the poor man, had an opportunity to see him; and there I soon guessed by his actions and words what kind of personage he could be. But the many visits he had received from persons of high rank, and the singular respect with which he was treated, had rendered him so proud and assuming, that Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, who was no less a man, than the governor general of the Province, and a nephew of Aali-verdi-qhan's, having not thought it proper to pay him a visit, the man took offence, and spoke of it: a particular which the young Prince mentioned to his uncle in his letters: whilst on the other hand Hadji-ahmed wrote to his brother in high terms of him; and after having said that the lord Séyd *was this, and that*, (45), he added *that he was nothing inferior to Mustepha-qhan*.

AALI-VERDI-QHAN's thoughts werethen engrossed by the affairs of 8ressa where he found that the vanquished Marhattas, although expelled from the frontiers of Bengal, had taken shelter, together with many of the dismissed troops of Shimshir-qhan's and Serdar-qhan's; and as since the departure of Abdol-ref31-qhan, and D8lobram's imprisonment, there had not been any person of consequence and authority in those parts, he resolved to send thither Mir-djaaffer-qhan with such a number of troops as the occasion required. On this principle, he gave the supreme government of the 8ressa to his son-in-law Säyd-ahmed-qhan; but appointed Mir-djaaffer-qhan, to be his Nàib, or deputy in that province, complimenting him at the same time with the two Fodjdaries of Midnipoor and Hedjly, over and above the office of pay master general, which he enjoyed these many years already: this new appointment was conferred upon him in a public audience, where he was honoured with a rich Qhylaar, an elephant, a horse, a sabre and a poniard with a scabbard, and a Djica of jewels: after which ceremony, he was complimented with another set

(45) This expression as well as that which follows, is a literal translation

of jewels, elephants and other presents by Sâyd-ahmed-qhan, the governor general, as from himself. These appointments being over, that general deput-ed Mir Ismâil, son to his maternal uncle, to act as his agent at court, and likewise, as his substitute in the pay-master's office; and he sent a gentleman called Sudjan-sing to govern, as his deputy, in the district of Hedjly. After these regulations, Mir-Djaafer-qhan, departed for Catec at the head of seven thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot: and in several days march, he met in the territory of Midnip8r, a body of Marhattas and Afghan's whom he defeated: the Marhattas fled to Djaliser whether they were pursued by Mir-Djaafer-qhan, who encamped on this side of the Kehnasa river, taking up his quarters on its banks; but without daring however to cross it, being intimidated by a report of some new troops of Marhattas which were to come from the 8ressa. In a few days more another report ran that Djano-dji, son to Rhago-dji, was coming into that province with a numerous army. This intelligence frightened Mir-Djaafer-qhan: he suddenly decamped from his post; and without leave from Aali-verdi-qhan, without even sending him advice, he marched back, and took shelter in Bardvan; and all this with so much precipitation, that Djano-dji's vanguard, that pursued briskly, could only overtake some elephants and some baggage of his, in his rear. This young prince was encouraged by Mir-Djaafer-qhan's timidity, and he kept pursuing him for some time, to the surprise of all who knew that general to be at the head of sixteen or seventeen thousand men: notwithstanding such a force, he retreated far off, without first ascertaining whether he was really inferior; and without having previously tried the expedient of spears and swords. But Aali-verdi-qhan who was perfectly informed of the state of things, sent before hand Ata ollah-qhan to the fugitive's assistance, with a body of troops; and it was at this conjuncture that Mir Aly-asghar arrived at M8rsh8dabad. However as Ata-ollah-qhan, on whose invitation he had come over, was already gone, he did not think it proper to pay his respects to the prince, in that absence; but taking his

rout by the outskirts of the city, he went, and joined his patron with what troops
 he had brought with him. Ata-ollah-qhan, who on Vezir-qhan's narrative, had
 become a greater admirer of Mir-Aly-afghar's, than the Afghan was himself;
 had no sooner beheld the man, and seen the many tricks with which he
 used to entrap the fots, than he became enamoured with him; and giving him
 his confidence, he carried him to Bardvan, where Mir-Djaafer-qhan was arriv-
 ing on his side. Djanodji who had Mir-Habib with him, and a numerous army
 of Marhattas and Afghans, finding Aali-Verdi-qhan absent, attacked the two
 commanders; and a sharp engagement took place, in which Ata-ollah-qhan
 distinguished himself greatly; but none so much as the new comer, Mir-
 aly-afghar cobra, who at the head of his brigade, composed of men of his fa-
 mily or of such as were his disciples, pushed forwards with so much bravery
 and conduct, as deserved the encomiums of both friends and foes. But he was
 a man of projects as well as of heroical courage; and he inspired his protector
 with such ambitious views, that the latter finding himself at a distance from his
 master's fight, and giddy with the fumes of his high command, as well as
 elated with the little success he had had against the Marhattas, thought
 himself a man of importance; and he conceived the project of associating
 with Mir-Djaafer-qhan, and making use of his assistance to entrap and kill Aali-
 verdi-qhan, whenever he should come to his support: After which performance
 he intended to assume the Government. All this was imparted to Mir-Djaafer-
 qhan by the medium of one Mir-mogholi-qhan, a light headed foolish man,
 who was deeply rooted in that general's confidence; and the latter, in the na-
 tural supineness and carelessness of his temper, gave into the scheme, and agreed
 that after the intended revolution, himself should take possession of the Bahar
 and of Azim-abad, and Ata-ollah-qhan, of Bengal. But so many practices and
 parleys could not long remain a secret; and as soon as this partition-treaty came
 to the knowledge of Mir-abdol-aziz and of some others of Mir-Djaafer-
 qhan's friends, it was opposed with all their might; and their reasons made
 such

Mir-Djaafer-
 qhan and Ata-
 ollah-qhan con-
 spire against the
 Viceroy,

such a strong impression on that General's mind, that he repented of his mischievous scheme: so that his favorite Mir-mogholy-qhan, fearing the consequences of what he had advised, quitted his service, and fled for his life.

By this time Aali-verdi-qhan, who had got intelligence of the whole matter, was arrived with his army close to his two generals, against whom he was highly incenced. Mir-Djaaser-qhan immediately went to pay his respects, and was sharply reprimanded for his behaviour against the Marhattas, and for his precipitate retreat; after which he was dismissed to his quarters. But the general took so much offence at the bitter expressions made use of on that occasion, that he abstained from going to Court. As to Aata-ollah-qhan, the Viceroy thought better to gain his heart; and by way of complimenting him upon his success, he went to make him a visit, intending also to do him honor, by so unusual a condescendence, and to raise the man's character. And it was there that Mir-aly-asgar-kobra had an opportunity of paying his respects to the Viceroy for the first time. Here it was observed of Ata-ollah-qhan, that he received this visit in an extraordinary manner, that did not become those relations of servant and Lord which subsisted between himself and his master; so that the Viceroy after some conversation got up and retired, highly displeased at what he had seen; but still resolved to stifle his resentment. On his return home, he received a petition from Ata-ollah-qhan, requesting that Mir-aali-asghar-k8bra might be admitted into the service of his Highness at the head of a thousand horse, that should serve in Ata-ollah-qhan's brigade. The Viceroy, without betraying what he thought of the man, contented himself with writing at the bottom of the paper these words: "do you take him in your own pay, if you will: but I cannot afford to add any more to your brigade." Mir-k8bra informed of this answer, took it ill, and wanted to quit the army directly; and this discontent affecting his patron, the latter took occasion to observe to the Viceroy, that should the lord Sēyd come to quit the army, he should be necessitated to quit it himself; he was answered: *that shall be just as you please.* Ata-ollah-qhan,
to

to whom Mir-kobra had promised as by a revelation from above, the possession of Bengal; and who had been so simple as to take that promise by way of bond, under the inspired impostor's hand writing, and also so senseless as to believe it equally authentic with any revelation in the world; no sooner heard those words, than he quitted the army without giving himself one moment of delay: he took Mir-kobra with him, and retired to his house of M8rsh8dabad. At this very time one of Mir-djaafer-qhan's kinsmen having departed this life, the Viceroy conceived the scheme of regaining that general's affection, by paying him a visit, under pretence of joining in the ritual prayers, that were to be pronounced over the deceased. The general elated at finding himself at the head of six or seven thousand horse, and at being decorated with some of the insignia customary to importance and grandeur, forgot himself so far, as to omit the usual demonstrations of respect: such as advancing a great way out of the tent to receive the Prince at his alighting; bowing to him in a proper manner; addressing him in a respectful strain; and besides that, he was guilty of some attitudes and expressions unbecoming an inferior. Ali-verdi-qhan who had already become sensible by the general's behaviour, of the levity and silliness of his character, returned home; and under pretence of auditing the accounts of his government of Hedjly, he sent for Sudjan-sing, deputy to Mir-djaafer-qhan in that district, a man whose secrecy was of all necessity to that general. Mir-djaafer-qhan answered, "that there was no sending for Sudjan-sing unless the Viceroy sent also for his (Mir-djaafer-qhan's) head; and the order remained uncomplished with. The Viceroy shocked at an answer so extravagant, ordered Séyd Mahmed, one of his Yesàols or Mace-bearers (46), to take some men with himself, and to bring Sudjan-sing by force. The

(46) The Chopdars and Sonta-berdars, that is, Staff-bearers, and Bludgeon-bearers, were in times of yore a military guard, now become purely civil. They are servants of the better sort, doing duty in the apartments of a palace, or serving as messengers. The former are distinguished by a staff, four or five feet high, upon two or three inches in diameter: The Sonta-berdar's cudgel is half that length, upon the same diameter, but a little bent at the top: both are plaited in silver and gilt. A message sent by a Chopdar implies equality, and does honour: sent by a Sonta-berdar, it implies compulsion, and may be occasionally enforced; which is what a Chopdar neither can nor will do. A Yessàol is a Chopdar, armed: these last are mostly Moguls, and foreigners.

Mace-bearer, who was a man of a peevish violent temper, no sooner received the order, than he went to Mir-Djafer-qhan's, and after having spoke roughly to him, he layed hold of Sudjan-sing by the hand, and brought him to his master: the latter for reasons of policy, bestowed the Fodjdary of Hedjly on Sudjan-sing himself, for the present, and the paymaster's office, on N8r-ollah-beg-qhan; and after having mulcted the general in those two lucrative employments, he also broke the Brigade which the latter commanded. An order of the new pay-master's office came out importing that whoever wanted to be enlisted, might enter into Seradj-eddö8lah's Brigade, or get himself inscribed in the corps immediately paid by the Viceroy's military chest. On the publication of this order, the troops of Mir-Djafer-qhan's brigade, quitted him to a very few men; and that general finding himself alone on a sudden, thought proper to abate much of his high notions of himself. The fumes of pride that had shot up into his brain, and had obscured his understanding, subsided at once; and confounded as well as humbled, and even ashamed to shew his face, he quitted the army, and repaired to M8r-8dabad, where he threw himself into the arms of Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, for protection. It was at this very time, I, the poor man, arrived from Patna; and as I went often to this prince's palace, I had a full opportunity of learning all the above particulars.

BUT to return to the affairs of war, as soon as Aali-verdi-qhan heard that Djano-dji was come into his neighbourhood with a numerous army of Marhattas and Afghans, he made haste to encounter them; and after a short march, he gave them battle, when the valorous of his army falling on the troops of Decan, with arrows thirsting after Marhatta blood, and with muskets vomiting fire and flames, made them drink plentifully of the wine of destruction, that flowed in torrents from their inflamed sabres: and having in this manner intoxicated vast numbers of them, they sent them to hell by shoals. Djano-dji, equally confounded and overborn by the heavy blows of the Bengal troops, and now

greatly

The Marhattas defeated a fourth time.

greatly crest-fallen, resolved at last to recover his character, by quitting the enemy, and rushing upon the city of M8rsh8dabad, which he expected to plunder in part, at least; but he was so closely pursued, that he found no opportunity to accomplish his design. Obligated therefore to abandon his scheme with loss and shame, he took to the road of Midnip8r, always followed by the Bengal army, which he had no stomach to fight, and which did not allow him time to take breath. The Viceroy finding that the rainy season was at hand, returned to his capital, after having sent repeated orders to his son-in-law Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, to banish Mir-k8bra out of his dominions. That nobleman out of regard to Ata-ollah-qhan, had stayed the execution of the order; but the Viceroy being now near the city, wrote a sharp note to his deputy, informing him that he was now sending Rahem-qhan to see the man out of M8rsh8dabad, or to bring him out of it by force, if the order should have failed of punctual execution. Ata-ollah-qhan hearing of the order, and of the character of the person dispatched to see it executed, sent for Mir-k8bra; and after making him many presents, and giving a large sum of money for his charges, he expressed his regret and sorrow in a most extraordinary manner, and advised him to depart; but what looks singular, is that the impostor even in such an awful moment, had the impudence to put in his hand a paper under his seal and hand, by which he promised, as by a particular revelation from heaven, that in two years time, he would be raised to the sovereignty of Bengal: after which he set out for his own Country, very much humbled by the success of his journey. On his being arrived about Azimabad, the Governor who had reasons to be dissatisfied with his conduct, sent him word that, as he had in his way to Bengal, taken his route by the outskirts of the city, he must take the like circuit to return to his Country. Unluckily for him, the lake which occupies all the western ground about that City, overflows all the environs in the rainy season; so that there remains no other road but through the markets and streets of Azimabad itself. The man thunderstruck by that message

message, fell into the whirlpool of amazement and confusion; and he was at a loss what to do with himself; when Mehdy-neffar-qhan, taking pity of his situation, obtained that he should have leave to take his journey through the City. But his miseries were not over yet: arrived at the River Sohon, he found Pak-luvan-sing the zemindar, who with the Governor's consent, had come on purpose to stripe him: the man humbled to the dust by the wretchedness of his situation, applied again to Mehdy-neffar-qhan; and by his intercession, and that of Hadji-ahmed and Abdol-aly-qhan, he obtained an order to the Zemindar to let him pass with safety, and to furnish him with boats to cross the River. Moreover those two noble persons having asked leave of the governor, sent jointly some of their troopers to see him safe out of the frontiers of the province.

THREE months were already elapsed since his departure, and the season of rain was already over, when Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, conceived the scheme of becoming independent, as had done Mustepha-qhan; and of submitting his two brothers to his own power and influence. In his late journey to M8r8dabad, he had cast a prying eye on the power and wealth of his two brothers, and on the court of his uncle; and having reflected on the weakness of the two former, and on the old age of the latter, he had concluded that he would prove an overmatch for both. Full of this idea, he sent an agent to his uncle at a time, when the cold season was setting in. The old prince had come out of the city, and encamped at Amany-gundj, with intention to chase the Marhattas that had nestled themselves in the district of Midnip8r. The agent was one Mir-Abdol-maaly, who had once been steward to Saadèt-qhan, and lived now in Azim-abad, highly respected by the governor: the purport of his speech was this: “ that Shimshir-qhan “ and Sèrdar-qhan, the two dismissed Afghan commanders, who on the “ supposition of their returning to live retired in their country of De- “ herbanga, had been suffered to repair quietly thither, were now inlisting,

The gover-
nor of Azim-
abad aspires at
independence.

vast

“ vast numbers of their own countrymen, so far from dismissing those
 “ whom they had brought over from Bengal with themselves: that to
 “ drive these people out of the province, was not without its difficulty;
 “ and to suffer them to fortify themselves in the heart of it, was highly
 “ impolitical, and full of danger: that, if his highness should approve
 “ of the scheme, he thought that a middling way would be the sa-
 “ fest, namely, that of attaching them to the service: for which purpose;
 “ he asked leave to retain those two officers with three thousand of their best
 “ horse; but that as the province of Azimabad could not afford that addi-
 “ tional expence, he submitted it to his pleasure, whether it might not be
 “ expedient to have the pay of those additional troops be made disburseable by
 “ the treasury of Bengal.” This message seemed unwelcome to the Viceroy;
 and he appeared displeased with it at first. Nevertheless, he admitted the ex-
 pediency of the scheme, as he saw some advantages likely to result from it, and
 he did not chuse to disoblige his son-in-law. The envoy therefore having
 carried his point, returned to his master, with a very favourable answer to
 his request. And the governor, being now at liberty to act, sent three per-
 sons of weight to invite the Afghan’s to take service with him: these were
 Aga-azimai, Taky-c8ly-qhan, and Mahmed-asker-qhan, now all three de-
 ceased; and it was by their Channel that the whole negotiation was carried
 forwards. The envoys having gone over to Deherbanga, proffered their ad-
 vantageous proposals to the two commanders; and as these on the other hand
 had a mighty design of their own in their heads, the proposals were soon accepted;
 and soon reciprocal promises were confirmed by tremendous oaths on both
 sides: so that at the end of the month of ~~Adj~~ in the year 1161—A. D. 1749,
 the Afghans marched down in great numbers towards the Ganga, and encamped
 over against the city of Azim-abad, where the governor general’s people as well
 as the citizens soon intermixed with them: they were commanded by four
 chiefs; Shimshir-qhan; his nephew, Morad-shir-qhan; and Serdar-qhan; and

The Govern-
 nor takes the
 disbanded Af-
 ghans in his
 pay.

Baghshy-bösliah. These four men pretended to be afraid of going to court, where they apprehended some such fate might await them as that which had befallen both Abdol-kerim-qhan and Roshen-qhan in the beginning of the Viceroy's administration, as well as that of his nephew's. And as these apprehensions of their's were not without foundation; and the governor was not without some inquietude about their great-numbers, and their being close to his capital; he went to make them a visit: his views being to shew how much confidence he reposed in their integrity, and how much he wished to dispel their apprehensions by so open a proceeding. This intention of his was sudden; nor did he impart it to any one; nor was he accompanied, as usual by his guards, or by any other troops, nor even by his household. He had with him only his younger son Mirza-mehdy, and the poorman's second brother, Séyd-aali-qhan, to whom the Prince had betrothed his daughter: he had also Mahmed-asker-qhan, his favourite; and getting upon one of those elegant boats of twenty or thirty oars, called Perendas (47), he went to make a visit to Shimshir-qhan, whose tent was pitched on the other side of the river. That officer having descried his noble visitor from afar, came out of his tent, and received him at the landing place, where he made a profound bow, and presented his Nazur; after which he conducted him to his tent, made him sit in the Musnud; and after having made another bow, he went at some distance, and remained standing, as one in his service; nor would he sit down unless after repeated entreaties,; and then only at a distance. A moment after M8rad-shir-qhan entered with some other officers; and in a moment the tent was thronged with Afghans that came to make their bows. M8rad-shir-qhan had his sabre in hand, as had all the other ⁱⁿ and this was no more than conformable to the custom: however as soon as he was seated, he asked Shimshir-qhan whether he should fall on the governor, immediately: this was in the Peshto lan-

THE GOVERNOR
AND HIS
OFFICERS
AND
THEIR
FAMILIES
AND
THEIR
FAMILIES
AND
THEIR
FAMILIES

(47) A flying, or a Bird

guage(48), which is the vernacular tongue of the Afghans. Shimshir-qhan without uttering any answer, put his hand into his beard, as if to scratch himself, and shook his head very hard in token of disapprobation: and the sign was immediately understood: Séyd-aali-qhan, my brother, who was present, told me all these particulars, on my return from Shah-djehan-abad. As to the Governor, he did not observe either the asking leave, or the sign of disapprobation; for fate had blinded him thoroughly. Shimshir-qhan a little after, produced in compliance with the custom, some horses and an elephant, for which he entreated his acceptance: the governor excused himself, and getting up much to his own, and as he thought, much to their satisfaction, he commanded the superintendant of the river to afford the Afghans as many boats as they should want, and to facilitate their passage: After which he returned to his palace. Boats were immediately brought, and numbers of Afghans being ferried over, they encamped at Djaaser-qhan's garden: the chiefs passing first with their private retinues. The next day the governor getting into his Paleky, almost alone, and without any other retinue, but two or three servants, went out of the city to look at them from Nedjm-eddin's bulidings. As soon as he was descried from afar, Serdar-qhan marched up with his corps, and payed him his respects, which he did with a deal of cordiality; and indeed, it appeared afterwards, that he was not of the plot, and not so much as privy to it: for that officer being in the sequel on a visit to Shah-mahammed-zamin and Shah-rustem-aaly, openly disclaimed his knowing any thing of the conspiracy: these were the principal Fakyr's or religious of those parts; two venerable personages, equally sincere and candid, and who had also the gift of knowing by intuition men's innermost thoughts. That officer was heard to protest of his innocence, and to say that he knew nothing of the action intended by those two senseless impudent fellows, (for such was his expression,) meaning thereby Shimshir-qhan

(27) This language, although different from the Modern Persian, has an affinity with the old, and is of the same genius.

and

and M8rad-shir-qhan; else, added he, *I would have quitted their company, and abstained from their society; now it is out of my power to part with them: and were I to do it, no man would believe me: moreover, my retreat would be attributed to cowardice and to unworthy motives. Out of a principle of honour therefore, and out of regard to the name of Afghan, which they bear in common with me, I am obliged to stand by them; but it goes much against the grain.*" These were Serdar-qhan's expressions: but I have this anecdote from a person of weight and veracity, who has asserted that in fact, Serdar-qhan knew nothing of the plot; and that this was so far true, that the conspirators after having finished the Governor General, intended likewise to fall upon that officer too, as upon an inimical man, whom it was proper to put out of the way, before they should take possession of the country and Government. Be it as it will, at the end of the ten holy days of Muharrem, being the beginning of the year 1161, the Conspirators resolved to go to the Governor's palace, at a time when they knew that Mehdi-nessar-qhan, uncle to the poorman, an officer extremely trusted by the Governor General, and sincerely attached to his person, was to repair to Serefs and Cootombah, to bring to order the Zemindar of that Country. And as most of the principal commanders, like Qhadum-hassen-qhan and Ahmed-qhan Corèishy, and some other men of note, together with Radja-Sunder-sing, Zemindar of Ticary, were under orders to attend him in that expedition, they were all absent from Court; and by a strange fatality, even those that might have attended, could not go thither, as the Governor, to shew his thorough confidence in the Afghans, and his intire freedom from any designs that might give them umbrage, had sent the preceding day a circular order throughout the city, that no officer, no soldier, and no military man, should attend on the day appointed to receive the obeysance of the Afghans: a strange order indeed, so contrary to order, so opposite to the ordinary rules of decency, and which had never been issued, had not the unfortunate man being actually under the impulse of an inevitable destiny, that had blinded his understanding,

and

and made him give precise orders for the very measures which were to operate his ruin. For so far was he from being deficient in intellects, that it may be said that having taken his uncle for his model and pattern, he had added that accession of keennets and judgement to his own stock of good sense and penetration; insomuch that he seemed to have gone in those two qualities some degrees even beyond his Prototype. I was myself absent at this very conjuncture, having been for a length of time abroad to pay my respects to my glorious father, who had received from Ghazy-eddin-qhan, (son to Nizam-el-mulk) the Government of Berhèily and of some other neighbouring districts, that were of his Djaghir; and as he was not there, I advanced two or three stages farther; when by one of those singular events, that seem unaccountable to day, I heard a voice which mentioned that Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan had been killed by Shimshir-qhan. I was alone: it was noon-day; nor could I discover any speaker either far or near; and this happened the very day he was killed. But the day after, as some wounded men whom I knew to belong to the superintendent of Bodjp8r, chanced to come to Merli about Ghazip8r, I heard them say positively that the unfortunate Governor was killed, and that the Fodjdar of Shah-abad had been plundered by the Zemindars of those parts, who did not fail to avail themselves of the confusion that followed that nobleman's death to commit their accustomed disorders. This event happened in the following manner.

SHIMSHIR-QHAN and Serder-qhan, one day before the intended one, came with their people and payed their obeysance to the Governor by whom they were dismissed, each with a *Biry of Paan* (49) according to custom. The second day, which was the day appointed, the Governor, early in the mor-

(49) The Biry is composed of two or three leaves of that Aromate called *Paan* by the natives, and *Beetle* by the English. Some *Catt* or *Catchou*, and some grains of *Ilachi*, or Cardamomes, with a little *S8piary*, or *Beetle-nut*, and a little *Chana* or shell-lime: the whole folded-up in a bit of those *Kela* or *Plaintain* leaves, that are of a lively green, and as shining as *Satin*; so as to form a *Pyramid* made fast with a *long* or *clove* as with a *Pin*. See the remark, 268 section 4th.

ing went and seated himself in the Chehel-s8t8n (50), a building for which he had a predilection, it being founded and built by himself: he had with him Mahmed-asker-qhan, one of his favorites, who had been so useful in the negotiation with the Afghans; he had also, Mir-morteza; and Mir-beder-el-dehy, together with M8lydur the head-spy, and Ramzani, the keeper of his arm-office: a man who had been originally a butcher. There was also one Sytaram, comptroller of the light-train of artillery, and agent to Qhadum-haffen-qhan: all these were seated; and numbers of mace-bearers and menial servants and footmen, were standing, with the governor's slave-boys: all these stood facing their master, as usual, and were there only likewise to augment the pomp of the solemnity. There were some others; and such were Mir-Abdollah of the royal race of the Seffies, who was one of the principal persons of Azim-abad, and enjoyed a small portion of land hereditary in his family by way of Altumgha; and Shah Bendeghy, one of the principal Religious of the city, who resided in Djaaser-qhan's garden, and had in his dwelling an impression of the holy foot (51). There were two or three persons more of that distinction, and two or three more that had come to pay their respects: for instance Mahtab-ráy, a *Catry's* (52) son, who had been bred by Mahmed-asker-qhan, and was now attending his benefactor: he was sitting behind the governor, and close to him, but unarmed like all the others; nor had any one of them a sabre in his hand, although it is so customary: and some had not even a poniard, although it is always worne as a part of a full dress; and this was the case with Mahmed-asker-qhan, Mir-m8rteza, Mir-

(50) These words which signify forty columns, design a building of stone that exists still, and of which the English have several times made a post in their several wars. It is open on all sides, and supported by forty columns.

(51) The prophet's foot. There are many such impressions in India, being the places where the prophet has appeared to some one, whether in a dream or by day, or where an impression of his foot has been brought from Medi a: and all these places have an oratory and several buildings adjoining.

(52) The *Catrics*, are in dignity the second race or tribe in India, the Brahmans, or Levites being the first. The *Radjp8ts* or military tribe &c. are themselves reputed *Catrics*: and both are handsomely featured.

beder-el-dehy, and M8rlyder; nor had one of them even a cattary in their girdles (53). Only Ramzani, held in it's scabbard according to custom, his master's long sword (54); and he was standing behind him. Radja Ram-narain with some M8tusuddies or Penmen, belonging to the Accomptant-office, was in a room a part, about the Moonshy-Qhana or Secretary's office. At forty or fifty yards from the Chehel-s8t8n, towards the east, in face of the governor's, but at a distance from him, stood Ynàiet-bhà-y-djan, who had been in times of yore steward to my father of glorious memory, and held actually the like office in the governor's household. And now the Afghans drawing near, Backshy-bó8liah came in first, with about a thousand men, who had their muskets loaded and primed, and their matches, lighted: he with his people made a profound bow from a great distance, according to custom, and then bidding them range themselves on one side close to the wall, he with a few men of note in his corps, advanced nearer, but still at a distance, and made his second bow; after which he approached in a respectful manner, and presented his Nezer and their's. After him came that wretched M8rad-shir-qhan with five hundred Afghans armed and accoutred at all points, as well as covered with thick quilted coats. They all bowed from afar, and ranged themselves on the other side of the yard, fronting the former troops: whilst M8rad-shir-qhan moving forwards with a few of the most distinguished men of his corps, made his bow, and presented his Nezer and their's in the most respectful manner: after which he stood over against the Governor, and mentioned the names of those whose Nezers had been just received. Whilst he was speaking, the Governor General

(53) The Cattary is a poniard peculiar to India, and made in such a manner, that the handle looks like a hilt whose two branches extend along the arm, so as to shelter both the hand and part of the arm. Every stroke of it is mortal; for the blade which is very thick, and cutting on both sides upon a breadth of three inches at the hilt, ends in a solid point of one inch more or less in Diameter; so as to be incapable of binding, or of being stopped by any thing, save a cuirass. The blade may be a foot and quart in length, and with the hilt, two feet, or two and a half.

(54) This long sword, called D-h8p, has been already explained, as being about four feet long, and held up right in the scabbard, as a walking cane. It has been a mark of Sovereignty; and it is even now of high command.

asked where was Shimshir-qhan; and he was answered both by the speaker and by some harcarrahs and messengers, that he was coming, as they had seen him mounted; and that he would be here in a little while. At this moment Shimshir-qhan himself was arrived at the C8tval's Chab8trah or tribunal, where getting into his paleky, he was surrounded by his Afghans, who could not be less than three or four thousand men, and had all dismounted, marching on foot with a slow composed pace, but all armed and ready at all points. Their numbers were such, that the main street, as far as the castle gate and eastern city gate, was filled with these miscreants. Shimshir-qhan's arrival being announced, M8rad-shir-qhan dismissed this people out of the Chehel-s8t8n, to make room for others: on hearing these words they approached the Governor in crowds, and were receiving each their Biry of dismissal; (55) until it came to be one Abdol-refhid-qhan's turn to receive it. As it had been agreed amongst them, that this man should give the first blow, his hand happened to tremble, and his Biry of Paan fell to the ground. The governor smiled at the accident, and mildly said, *I suppose this Paan was not in your destiny: but here is another.* Upon which he stooped to look at the Paan-dan, or plate containing the Biries of Paan; and whilst he was taking another, that wretched drawing his cattery, made at the unfortunate man's side; but as his hand was shaking, the blow had no effect. At sight of this, Mahmed-asker-qhan, who sat close to the Governor, screamed out *Traitor! What treason is this?* and mean while the Governor raising his head to see what was the matter, and putting his hand to a sabre that was before him, as is customary, the wretched had time to draw his own sabre, and to give him such a violent a blow, as cleft him from the shoulder down to the stomach, cutting down as far as the navel. Instantly the prince fell dead on the pillow at his back. After this, the wretched or some one like himself,

The Governor
of Azim-abad
murdered by the
Afghans.

(55) A man would think himself in disgrace, or at least slighted, if on a first visit, he chanced to be dismissed without a Biry being put in his hand.

himself cut the prince's head as well as his right foot, and lodged them in his cleft stomach; doubtless thinking he was doing some fine action, or more probably, he was persuaded that this would operate like a charm upon his uncle and relations, and prevent their ever taking their revenge on him. Mir-m8rteza hearing the tumult, and thinking the prince only wounded, ran to him and covered him with his body; but he was hacked to pieces in an instant. Mahmed-asker-qhan, layed hold of the Prince's sabre (55), and after having defended himself sometime, was cut down. Mahtab-rây having received a wound that left his side quite open, seated himself down, and taking the head of his murdered patron on his lap, he expired in that posture. Padeshah-nevaz-qhan, a Mansubdar, and a nobleman of great rank, who had been a man of great consequence and power in Fahqr-eddö8lah's government, and was now commencing an acquaintance with the governor, having just got up in this tumult, was immediately dispatched by those ruffians. Ramzany, the Daroga or superintendant, who with the long sword of his master's in his hand stood over against him, unsheathed it, instantly; and being joined by Sitaram, the Clerk, who took up another sword, they both rushed amongst thousands of Afghans, and after having fought with a strength and a fidelity that did them honour, they both fell together, and together departed for the other world, where they arrived with a rosy face, and a glorious countenance. M8rlider, and Mir-beder-el-dehy, with both their hands wounded, found means to escape from that scene of slaughter and confusion. Ram-naráin, and some other pen-men, after having been striped to the skin, were suffered to depart, some wounded, some not. Mir abdollah himself, could not escape the hands of those murderers, but after having parted with his Cattary, his Camur-bund or girdle, and his Shawl, which he threw amongst them. Shah-bendegy was killed on the spot: the rest fled, every one as his

(55) Besides the D-h8p, or long broad sword, carried by some men of consequence bolt-upright, it is customary, when the Prince or Navvab is sitting upon the Mesned, to lay upon that very Mesned another sabre, and this is always a bent one, like a Persian sabre.

mind could prompt him. The doorkeepers of the Seraglio seeing how matters went, quitted their stations, and fled every one to their own homes. Séyd-aly-qhan my youngest brother, who was then in the library, and getting ready with his masters and teachers to wait on the Governor who had sent for him, hearing the tumult and screams, was at a loss what to do with himself. His masters threw him into the women's apartment, and dispersed immediately. In such a scene of confusion and dismay, Amina-begum, daughter of Aali-verdi-qhan, and consort to the murdered prince, had the presence of mind to order the gates of the Zenana or women's apartment to be shut up; and getting Sèyd-aali-qhan upon the terrace of the building, which was contiguous to Shahamet-djung's house, she bade him provide for himself just as he could, but by all means to find his way to the house of his uncle, Abdol-aali-qhan; and unfortunately it happened that Abdol-aali-qhan himself was gone on a visit to Sheh-abdol-reff81-belgrami: an antient commander of character, who had served with honour under Ser-b81end-qhan, and who, having taken his leave from Aali-verdi-qhan, was now returning to his own country. By a particular providence this gallant man, on passing by, spied a boy with a turbant of cloth of gold upon his head, who was staring in the street, and seemed much at a loss what to do with himself: he stopped short, and having recollected who he was, he was moved with pity, and throwing away the boy's showy turbant, he put upon him some old clothes, with an old dirty blanket, and in that condition he took him along the water-side and carried him to Abdol-aali-qhan's house: an action by which he rendered an important service to the boy's father and mother, as well as to all his relations.

SHIMSHIR-QHAN after having tarried a while in that spot, sent order to Haiât-qhan to bring Hadji-ahmed, father to the murdered prince. That officer had already been sent to him, as if upon a visit; and he was there, when the order came. The Hadji on hearing of the order, was confounded and thunder-struck;

struck ; but yet he would have escaped upon some good horse, and would have taken shelter at Radja-funder-sing's or in some other place of safety, had he not been withheld by an attachment to his money, and to his women, and above all, had he not been kept back by the force of a destiny which blinded him intirely. Whilst the satellites were breaking open his gate, he escaped by a breach in his wall, and went to a neighbouring house, where he was found at last, and confined; and for seventeen days together he underwent a variety of supplices inflicted upon him to oblige him to a discovery of his riches : so that they took from a secret part of his house, where he kept an impression of the sacred foot, about seventy lacs buried under ground ; and continuing to torment him, and to extort confessions, they got from him besides that sum, a great quantity of jewels and uncoined gold, which were buried in divers parts of his house ; and yet from the house of his son, the Governor, they could get no more than about three lacs, as the report goes, and very little from all the houses of his murdered friends. The utmost they could get from each family not amounting to more than a few thousand Rupees a piece. At least this is as much is come to the public knowledge. Hadji ahmed spent with a variety of tortures, expired at the end of sixteen or seventeen days; and he was buried close to the Samel-p8r quarter on the water side, a few paces beyond Djaaser-qhan's garden ; and it was in such a tomb as fell to his lot. After this, a guard was sent to the houses of both by Shimshir-qhan, who went and took up his residence in Djaaser-qhan's garden : (leaving M8rad-shir-qhan to command in the city,) his intention being to fight Aali-verdi-qhan, who was reported to be coming. This intelligence made him spend his money and favours with an unsparing hand : he wrote every where to his country men, inviting them to come to his assistance; and it happened by a particular dispensation of providence, that Afghans seemed that year to shoot up out of the ground like so many blades of grass: for it was at that very time that Ahmed-abdaly, the Afghan monarch, had brought from his domrnions of Herât and Candabar

Candahar (56) an army of seventy thousand horse against Shah-djehan-abad; and about the same time, and whilst people were in daily expectations of that Prince's arrival, Aly-mahmed-rohila, another Afghan, had quitted Serhend, where he commanded: and cutting his way through Soharen-poor, he had come to Berhéily, where he had put every thing in combustion: so that all India being now in arms, and every part of it full of Afghans, not a day passed, but the inhabitants of Azimabad had their attention roused, and their fears awakened five or six time a day, by the found of the Nagara or kettle drum; and on inquiry it was always found that this was occasioned by some Afghan commander who was coming to Shimshir-qhan's assistance with so many men.

DURING all this time the city was a prey to all the horrors of sac and plunder. That General's people as well as those of Bacshy-bógliah's, being restrained by no discipline, nor overawed by any constraint, spread throughout every quarter of that unfortunate city, where not a day passed without some houses undergoing all the horrors of violence and defilement. Dishonouring whole families, became familiar; and few houses, and few persons did escape the defiling hands of an unbridled Soldiery, and the infamous practices of that nation of miscreants.

BUT let us draw a veil upon all those infamies, and let us look out for Abdol-aly-qhan, to whose house we have carried his nephew then a boy. That officer after having thought it expedient to pass the whole day in Sheh-abdol-reffli's house, was now, (and it was night,) retiring to his own lodgings on the water side, where he had ready a number of boats for his baggage, together with one of those commodious vessels, called Badjaras, for his own person and family. All these were manned and ready; and the head boat-man advised and intreated him to avail himself of the night to get in the boats with his family and effects: promising that before the enemy could know precisely where he might

The Afghans spread throughout the city, which they sack and plunder.

(56) Both these cities are now become the capitals of that new monarchy, that has sprung out of the ashes of Nadyr-shah's empire, and forms now a powerful state that embraces several contiguous provinces of Persia, India, and Tartary.

“be, he could carry him to thirty coffes distance, where he would not be over-
 “taken, and where he might take what resolution he should judge proper”. He
 added, “that the city resembling now a place taken by assault, and given
 “up to sack and plunder, the Afghans were not thoroughly acknowledged
 “in it, yet.” And really this was the best resolution that could be taken;
 but fate had determined it otherwise: nor is it uncommon to see every day
 people who overwhelmed by the force of their destiny, neglect the most ob-
 vious means, in order to addict themselves to far fetched schemes and whim-
 fies, and to expose themselves to mighty dangers, which it was in their power
 to have escaped. In one word, he chose to stay at home. After a few days,
 M8rad-shir-qhan having been appointed superintendant of the city, sent Ab-
 dol-aly-qhan word, that he wanted to see him: that commander on receiving
 the order, got into his paleky immediately with his usual train, that is with a
 number of horsemen, mace-beares, soldiers and servants of all sorts, that
 preceded and followed him at all times; and being arrived at the Afghan’s
 lodgings, the soldiers of the guard desired him to leave his people and arms at
 the gate, and to go in only with two or three servants, unarmed. The officer
 concluding that had any ill usage been intended for him, he had not been
 sent for by a single messenger, complied with the request, and went in on
 foot; and that wretched of Afghan, no sooner saw him, than without paying
 any attention to his high rank, he gave his arms and things to be plundered
 by his soldiers, and then sent him only with two or three servants to Shim-
 shir-qhan, in a paleky of his own. This general hearing of this affair, got up
 just as he was, and running barefooted out of his tent, he expressed the
 greatest concern at what had happened, and asked repeatedly pardon for the
 mistake: sending at the same time for his paleky, he requested his making use
 of it; and dismissed him to his home, with every demonstration of honour and
 regard, appointing a guard of a few men to see that no insult should be offer-
 ed to his dwelling or person. Sometime after he was obliged to alter his con-

duet; and hearing that his people vented their resentment in bitter reproaches; and likewise that Aali-verdi-qhan was coming, he sent for him again, and got him confined in a tent close to his own: at last importuned by M3rad-shir-qhan, and by Mustepha-qhan's son, he gave orders for his execution. Abdol-aaly-qhan was put in a boat, which was rowed to the other side of the river; and the Satellites were going to put their order in execution, when that officer with his companion Séyd-nevaz-qhan, being informed of their intention, requested just time enough to purify himself by a legal ablution, and to offer a short prayer, after which he would submit to their pleasure; but whilst they were performing their prayers, a controrder arrived, and they were carried back. A religious person of great weight, named Shah Sadye was the cause of the controrder: he became surety for Abdol-aaly-qhan's peaceable behaviour, and he carried him to his home that very day; but it was under condition, that should Aali-verdi-qhan come, the prisoner would keep himself quiet, without offering in either action or word any injury to the present government. As to Mehdy-neffar-qhan, my other uncle, he was in Seress Cotombah, a district where by his master's order he had been expelling the Zemindar from his lands: but as soon as the news of the Governor General's death became public, the Zemindar came back with his people, and attacked him. Mehdy-neffar-qhan with the few people that remained with him, and the money he had collected, made his retreat good to Rhotas, where Aali-qhan the governor, received him as his guest with every demonstration of honour and regard, and lodged him in the fortress. As for the poorman's house, that is my mother's house, I thank God, that it was preserved from disgrace and plunder; and it was in the following manner: the first day it was preserved by the presence of an Afghan officer, who had served under the poorman's father, and who that day abandoned the out houses, but saved the audience hall with the women's apartment: the second day it was secured by a guard sent by Bahtaver-qhan, another Afghan commander, who had long been

been in my father's service, and in whose presence my father had torn several bonds of his, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand Rupees. Bahtaver-qhan, who was a man of authority, and of great credit with Shim-shir-qhan, requested that General to bestow our house upon him as his share of the plunder. He at the same time expressed the great obligations he had received from my father; and also the many important favors likewise which he had conferred on Sheh-mahmed-selah, the Lacnovian, and on Caly-qhan the Belminian, two commanders of character. Bahtaver-qhan, in requesting Séyd-hedàiet-aaly-qhan's house to be spared, had once threatened to part with Shim-shir-qhan, and to give advice to the governor of the conspiracy. His request was complied with; and as Shimsher-qhan, God knows for what reason, had the highest regard for that officer, he promised him whatever he had asked. After the revolution, the three officers above, took their quarters in the audience-hall, from whence they used to repair to the Derbar or court of Shimshir-qhan; and whenever they heard that any commander was marching towards our lodgings, they would assemble their people, whose number could not amount to less than two or three thousand men, and would prepare for an engagement, and it was by such methods as these that it pleased God in those days of confusion, plunder and insubordination, to preserve that spot from the most imminent danger of pollution and infamy.

ALL this while the body of the governor had remained unattended-to. At last however after two whole days, it was taken up by Séyd-mahmed the Isfahamian, father-in-law to Mir-hàider-aaly, Cutval of the city, and son-in-law to the late Mirza-darab. Séyd-mahmed on the intreaties of Mir-hàider-aaly, brought the body to his house, where he performed the religious rites over it: and wrapping it in a winding sheet of great value (57) which he had brought from Kerbela

(57) That is, a sheet of fine linen, that has been rubbed to Hosséin's monument at Kerbela, and is inscribed all over with passages of the Coran, or even with the whole Coran, in characters made with moistened Sandal-dust; and strange, as it may seem, the Shyabs both men and women, commit even crimes to get at those passports. Look at the remark 129, Section 10th.

for himself, he committed it to the earth in that particular spot, that goes by the name of Hàibet djung's monument, and which the deceased had bought for that very purpose in that quarter of the city, called Begum-p8ra.

Whilst that unfortunate city was in prey to all the atrocities that can be expected from the rage of an unbridled soldiery, a report spread that Aali-verdi-qhan was advancing on his way to Azimabad at the head of an army. Shim-shir-qhan therefore, and that abominable wretch, M8rad-shir-qhan, made haste to secure the family of the murdered Prince: with an impudence of mind, and an unfeelingness of temper, hardly to be paralleled throughout all the annals of Hindostan, those impudent wretches were not ashamed to send open carriages to bring to camp Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan's consort and daughters, with Mirza-mehdi, his youngest son, then a boy; and without a veil, without a curtain, with not even a blanket thrown over them to intercept the sight of so many by standers, those illustrious, those high born persons, were huddled together in those indecent carriages; and as if there had not been at hand so many by-ways to answer the same purpose, they were moreover carried along the high street and through the main market: to the great indignation of those crouds of honest folks, who thought it unlawful to raise their eyes open upon such a forbidden spectacle, and loaded the authors of so much defilement with curses and execrations: even the Afghans themselves joined in the general detestation. In a little time, the short lived authority of those miscreants came to an end; and the perpetrators of so much infamy, felt the force of universal detestation, in the manner which this history shall certify, and which was no more than what they deserved.

THE two chiefs, by spreading every where the money they had found in abundance, had brought together about forty thousand horse in the city, and nearly as many foot, mostly of their own nation: they took with them that numerous train of artillery which they had found ready at their hands, and they marched out to oppose Aali-verdi-qhan. The latter was in the middle
of

of winter, encamped at Amany-gunj, in the outskirts of the city of Mrshdad, to oppose Mir-habib's inroads, and Djanodji's ravages; when news came of that mighty event, of that heavy misfortune, that deprived him of a son-in-law, who was the eye and flambeau of his family, as well as the unquestionable delight of his heart; a son whom he compared to himself, whether in the arts of government or in those of the field. He had likewise lost his brother; and his daughter and grand-son were kept in an unworthy confinement. On the other hand, he reflected likewise that the same revolution had deprived him of the province of Azimabad, that is of a full half of his dominions: that it had passed to the hands of an enemy; and that most of his own troops were of the same nation with that enemy. All these misfortunes crowding at once upon his mind, made a deep impression on it; but he did not lose his wonted firmness, nor ever betrayed any appearance of fear, or perturbation, or ever abated any thing from his usual gravity, or the confidence and Majesty of his deportment. The next day he ordered a general assembly of his friends as well as of his Military officers, high or low. When he saw them assembled and seated, he informed them of what had happened, and then delivered himself in these words: *Gentlemen, a stone has struck me, and struck me very hard: A son of mine, a very able, and worthy son has been murdered: my brother has perished in the torments: my children and grand children are now prisoners, and are turned into so many objects of contempt and contumely. After such a flow of misfortunes life is become unpalatable to me, and improper to my circumstances: nor do I know any other remedy to my woes, than that of killing or being killed. Now after such a declaration on my part, I ask what are your own sentiments? I speak to you all: and amongst so many friends, and so many field companions, now present, who is willing amongst you to become my assistant, and my associate in this perilous affair?* This speech uttered with a tone of voice, and a cast of features impressed by a sense of deep-felt woe, made the strongest effect on that numerous assembly. They answered in one general

confused murmur that they were all his servants; all beholden for their well-being to him: all ready to obey his commands: and all ready to follow him. On hearing these words, he paused a while, and then added: *As your services have these many years acquired incredible rights upon my gratitude, I declare to you that whoever shall please to become my man, my fellow soldier and succourer in this affair, I, on my side shall become his man, and his fellow soldier, ready to part with my life, or fortune in his cause: either of these will be common between us; and as to those that may be disinclined from so laborious an undertaking, I have no objections to their retiring to their homes: nor do I see why it should follow, that because I have myself preferred death to such a life, they also should prefer death to their own convenience.*" These words having again produced a murmur of approbation, and several voices speaking together, on the murmur's subsiding, an officer advanced to the mesned, and answered in these words for all the rest: *There is no doubt but every one of us, your servants, has been benefited by his attachment to your highness: we have every one of us experienced your favours, and received a variety of obligations from your family; and now we have no other intention than that of repaying you by shedding our blood in your cause. March then, and we follow.* Soldiers and friends, replied the Viceroy, *If ye are true to your words, and sincere in your protestations, do confirm your oaths by the ties of religion, that they may acquire a greater solidity, and become the more binding.* At these words, a Coran was produced, and every one getting up, swore upon it to the truth of his word, and the fidelity of his promise. As soon as the assembly had taken their seats again, the Prince addressed them again: *Gentlemen, said he, I am a debtor to every one of you; and the arrears of your pay is a debt which I must by all means discharge: but you see the times: please to take patience, and allow me time to liquidate the whole gradually; for do not believe I shall be sparing of my money with men that are not sparing of their blood.* The assembly consented unanimously, and promised to be all of one heart and one mind in his service.

THIS affair being ended to his satisfaction, he turned his view towards rais-

ing

ing the necessary money, and he obtained immense sums from his son-in-law, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, and not a little from his own daughter, Bibi Ghahaffity, consort to that deputy. He also got mighty sums from Djagat-seat, and from the bankers and other money lenders, as well as from the principal persons of his court. All these sums being immediately payed to the troops, there still remained ballances due them. But whilst these arrangements were taking, the city was in danger. The Marhattas were in full view, and had raised a great tumult; and as their manner of waging war is extremely troublesome and importune; and they never tarry at one place, but conduct their business chiefly by repeated skirmishes and repeated retreats; the Viceroy became uneasy at what might happen in his absence: and he resolved to remain encamped, and to secure the city, until the preparatives for his intended expedition might be fully compleated. Mean while he sent his son-in-law Sayd-ahmed-qhan, to Bagyangola, with orders to secure the roads in those parts, in such a manner, as that the daily convoys of provisions from thence should not meet with any obstruction from the Marhattas, nor the enemy suffered to occasion a dearth in the city: he likewise published “ that at present
“ his business was with the Afghans, a species of foes, from whom he could
“ not divert his attention to any other object, and against whom he must
“ march of all necessity: that mean while the Marhattas would be left in
“ the heart of Bengal: an army of free booters, that would ravage the coun-
“ try without controul, but against whom at present he could not insure the
“ safety of the inhabitants: that it was proper therefore that every one should
“ provide for his own safety, by retiring to some sure retreat.” As soon as these words of his became public, every one of those that could afford it, retired to the other side, that is to the northern side of the Ganga; and the multitude, that could not afford to quit their homes, recommended themselves to God, and remained in the city. Aali-verdi-qhan’s mind being now made easy on that head, he applied it so vigorously to the preparatives of his future campaign, and he gained the affection of the soldiers so effectually
by

by a variety of favours, and by the affability of his deportment, that about the end of the second Reby in the year 1161, A. D. 1749 he was enabled to take the field, with fourteen or fifteen thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, at the head of which he displayed his glorious standards towards the city of Azimabad. From Amany-gundj he went to Chapáideh, which is a village at three coffes from M8rsh8dabad, towards the west. He left his son in law, Nevazish-mahamed-qhan, to take care of the city, in conjunction with Ata-ollah-qhan, under whose orders he put a body of five or six thousand men, commanded by Mir-djaaser-qhan; and as this officer had been for several years past paymaster-general of the forces, an office which he had lost, and which had been bestowed on N8r-ollah-beg-qhan, the office in question was restored to him with a view to gain that general's heart, and to shew a regard to Nevazish-mahmed-qhan's intercession. And as it was expected that the army on its march, would be followed and harraßed by the flying parties of the Marhattas, and probably would suffer from a dearth, if not from a scarcity of provisions, it was recommended to the most eminent grain merchants that followed the army, and to all those that could afford the precaution, to lay in a store of provisions, and to accompany the army in their boats laden with stores. In short after taking every precaution, and providing against every probable accident, he displayed the standards of good luck, and quitting Chapáy-dèh, he resolved to march against the enemy.

As soon as this intelligence was conveyed to the Marhattas, they guessed his intention; and being resolved on their side to support the Afghans at any rate, they gave up their wonted custom of warfare; and abandoning their schemes of plundering the city of M8rsh8dabad, they took to a mountainous country on the left of the victorious army, and marched incessantly under cover. The Bengal army on its march received some assistance from Sèif-qhan, who possessed the Fodjdary of P8raniah from a long series of years. That nobleman having heard of Aali-verdi-qhan's expedition, sent

to

to his assistance Sheh-din-mahmed, son to Sheh-mudjahed, a chief commander in his service, at the head of fifteen hundred musqueters: excusing himself at the same time on pretence of sickness, from waiting upon him in person. The officer having crossed the Ganga at Carangola, attempted to join Aali-verdi-qhan, who he heard would stay two or three days at Mongher; and he was already arrived at Soltan-gundj, when he was set upon by the Marhattas, who hearing of his small numbers, sent a detachment to overtake him. The man without being dismayed, stood his ground the whole day, after having dispatched a swift horseman to give advice to Aali-verdi-qhan of his situation. This prince, although averse from dividing his army, sent the four sons of Omer-qhan with a body of troops to succour him; but before the detachment could arrive, the Marhattas, at sun set, had already retired to their camp, as is their custom: so that Din-mahamed availed himself of this retreat, and of the darkness of the night to march without discontinuation, until at day break he met the detachment, with which he marched on leisurely, so as to reach the army betimes. The next day he payed his respects to Aali-verdi-qhan, who loaded him with caresses and encomiums. The officer in relating his engagement with the Marhattas, mentioned that having spent all the powder he had received from his master, he requested a supply from the army's stores, lest he might be found destitute in the future engagement with the Afghans. This was a very natural request, but to the amazement of all, it was not heard; and the Viceroy, intent on sparing his stores, expressed doubts about the officer's spending all his powder. The latter observed the length of the engagement, which had lasted from morning till evening; but the Viceroy still doubted; and it required a deal of persuasion, and many intreaties to make him spare a small quantity of gunpowder. Strange to say! that so great a Prince, and otherwise so generous a man, should have taken up so much time to consider whether he should bestow some gunpowder on a deserving officer: an article too so cheap, and at that time, so very ne-

Brave defence
made by an officer.

cessary to the petitioner. It was a little after this event, that a man who carried a letter of importance from Ata-ollah-qhan to the two Afghan Generals, fell in the hands of Dost-nick-bedaqshani, an officer in the Bengal army: by comparing the purport of the letter with the man's answers, it became evident that Ata-ollah-qhan solicited their concurrence and their alliance, offering them an union of concerns and interests, and exhorting them to a vigorous opposition on promise of support.

SUCH a discovery could not but affect the Viceroy: however his attention was soon diverted to another object. Whilst the Bengal army was on its march, Mir-habib, of whom all track had been lost in his journey through the mountainous countries, emerged all at once about Bagal-p8r, and was now on the little river of Champa-nagar, where falling unexpectedly upon the laggards of the army, he occasioned much disorder and much tumult amongst the people that attended the baggage; after which he retreated with his booty. But this did not prevent the Viceroy from continuing his journey to Mongher, where he was met by Radja Sunder-sing, Zemindar of Ticary, who had received important favors from him, and was greatly attached to his family: and likewise by Camcar-qhan, Zemindar of Tarhut and Samay: they both came to pay their respects, and to offer their services; and they were received with demonstrations of honor and regard. Immediately after them, came the cream of law-learning, the prince of doctors, the withdrawer of the veil of celestial and terrestrial truths, our Lord and teacher, ———Mir-mahmed-aaly-fazyl, (May God perpetuate the refreshing pure streams of his learning!) and he came to pay his respects to the Viceroy, who received him with the utmost regard, and shewed him every demonstration of honor. He is a personage, of whose merit we shall make farther mention, when we come to speak more particularly of Aali-verdi-qhan's family, as well as of his private way of life. This excellent man was followed in a few days by some other persons of distinction, such as Qhadum-hassen-qhan, who

who having quitted the army for some disgust against Mehdy-neffar-qhan, was coming to Azim-abad, and had already pitched his tent at P8lvary: where hearing of that lamentable event, (his master's death) and finding it dangerous to retreat, he thought it expedient to join his murderers, until some favourable opportunity should serve. Hearing in the sequel that the Viceroy was arrived at Mongher, he gave the Afghans the slip, and came to pay his respects to that prince, who admitted him the honour of kissing the threshold of the sublime gate. Thither came also Ismàil-c8li-qhan, a nobleman who on the first news of the revolution at Azim-abad, had taken fright and was flying to M8rfh8d-bad; But on his coming to pay his obeysance, no kind of notice was taken of it, as he had already lost his character. News came at the sametime that the two Afghan commanders with fifty thousand of their countrymen, all as great miscreants and as odious as themselves, had quitted the city of Azim-abad with all those implements of war which they had found ready assembled at their hands; and that they had encamped at the town of Bar. This intelligence having reached Aali-verdi-qhan, who had tarried a few days at Mongher, only to afford some rest to his army, and to implore the divine assistance, he displayed his victorious standards, and marched forwards to meet the enemy.

It was at this very critical time, that Mir-habib, and Djanodji arrived in the neighbourhood of Azim-abad, from whence they immediately sent notice of their arrival to the two Afghan generals. These two men who had only put in execution the several parts of that mighty revolution, which had been planned by Mir-habib, but where he and the Marhattas had pointed out to them mighty benefits which they had taken upon themselves, thought that now was the time to confer with them: They went to pay a visit to Mir-habib as well as to Djano-dji, as to two men in whose service they reckoned themselves to be: for this Mir-habib had been the proposer, and first mobile of that whole affair: he was a man of a fiery temper, fertile in expedient, vindictive and ardent in every thing that tended to ruin Aali-verdi-qhan's power; but he was very little seconded

by

by fortune. Djanodji and Mir-habib bestowed rich Qhylaats on Shimshir-qhan and his colleague, whom they treated in all respects as men in their pay: and Mir-habib doubtless thought that he had conferred on them thereby the Viceroyalty of Bahar. After this visit they were dismissed to their camp; for the Afghans, who had formed high pretensions upon him for their salary, seemed only to conform to whatever he pleased. The next day Mir-habib returned the visit, upon an invitation from the Afghans, who had prepared an entertainment: he was accompanied by Mirza-mahmed-faleh, by Mohon-sing and by some other persons of distinction: a great deal of respect was shewn him, and he was sumptuously entertained. After the entertainment, he was shewn into a magnificent tent, pitched on purpose for his taking some repose in the afternoon: they also sent a guard thither, in appearance to do him honor, but in reality for quite another purpose: the officers had orders to let Mir-habib repose leisurely; but on his offering to return to his camp, they were to prevent him, and to represent, “ that the Afghans had engaged on that dangerous enterprise solely on his “ promises: that they had performed their own part, as men in his service, by “ dispatching Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan; and were now to the number of fifty “ thousand horse and foot ready to fight the enemy, and all this, by his orders, “ and for his sake; but as the pay of the troops was in arrear by a vast balance, “ it was proper that he should provide for their immediate relief by a sum of “ thirty or forty of lacks; after which he might return to his camp, to find the “ remainder.” Mir-habib’s situation now became critical; but he was extricated by his friend, Mirza-faleh, to whom he had given proper instructions, and who having examined the scheme by himself, executed the following stratagem: he engaged a number of Marhatta troopers to absent themselves from the Afghan camp; and then to return full speed, crying out that Aali-verdi-qhan was at hand, and that his vanguard was in pursuit of them. The troopers did as they were bid, and filled the Afghan army with tumult; and Mir-habib getting ready with his retinue, intended to return to his camp, when he was met by the

two Afghan generals who renewed their request, but were answered by Mir-habib " that they took very ill their time for stopping him and setting up a " conference and a negotiation: that such a stoppage could not but produce " some great evil; and would occasion precisely what the enemy wished for: " that Aali-verdi-qhan thirsting for revenge was at hand; and that such a sum " would be duely considered, and as much as he could afford it, provided " for after his return to his camp; but that such an affair required leisure and " recollection; and that now the main business was how to get ready for an " engagement, as not a moment was to be lost in disputes." This speech produced its full effect: the Afghans considered, consented to a parley; and at last Mir-habib agreed to pay down two Lacs of Rupees, for which a Banker became his security. It was with such a contrivance he found means to depart from the Afghan camp, and to arrive safe among his own troops, together with his right hand man Mir-za-faleh: the next day the two armies, having just seen each other, and being only at three coffes distance, every one prepared for a general action.

(58) THE Navvab sword of the empire, the valorous of the state, the vaillant Mahmed Alli-verdi-qhan, ever formidable in battles, who in those times had not his equal, except Affef-dja-nizam-el-mulk, in the art of ranging an army in battle and in chusing a post, did not think it proper to quit the shore of the Ganga, but kept close to it's banks, along which he advanced towards the town of Bar, where he found the Afghans encamped on the other side of a small river, which was in times of yore, the Ganga itself, but where the water having quitted that shore, and gone over to the other side, had left just such a small quantity of water, and in so narrow a stream, as formed an Island on the antient bed called the *Derab*, or hollow; on the other side of which the Afgans had encamped, but which they turned into a very strong post, by

(58) These words with a few lines that follow, are given here literally as a specimen of our author's oriental style.

lining all the shores with that numerous Artillery which abounded in their camp; in so much that the passage had been rendered of very difficult access. The Viceroy having taken information from a Zemindar of that neighbourhood, advanced west-wards about two miles during the night time, and passed on the other side without any difficulty; nor did this event come to the knowledge of the Afghans but when it was already mid-day: Struck with surprise and amazement, they abandoned that numerous artillery with all its implements, and disappeared; and this first success proved so auspicious, that the Viceroy took it up as a good omen to his future operations: suspecting however that some deceit might lurk in this sudden retreat, he advanced beyond his own artillery, and passed the whole night waking, with part of his army under arms. At the end of the night, when the horizon commenced to redden, and the divine goodness was sending forth the beneficent rays of it's sun, he made his morning prayer, and rubbing the forehead of supplication and humility, on the future field of battle, he petitioned the supreme overseer of the afflicted for success and victory over those murdering enemies of his family. After this, he produced a small cake made of the earth of the sacred tomb of the Prince of martyrs (59), (a precious gem which he always carried with him on such important occasions,) and having adorned his forehead with some dust from it, he found within himself an accession of Vigor, and he gave the order of march. On getting up with the enemy, he again made a short prayer, mounted his Elephant, and prepared for battle. After having examined the country about Bar, and paid a proper attention to that hollow plain, in which is the village called Rani- Choc, (and this is but at four cosses from that town)

(59) The prince of martyrs ought by all means to be Mahomet himself, who was poisoned by his fair Jew prisoner, in his expedition against the Jews of Qhàiber; but Mahomet cuts but a small figure with the Shyabs or Persian sectaries, whenever their own heroes may be affected by the competition. The prince of martyrs with them therefore is either Ally his cousin and son-in-law, who was slain at Nejes alias C8fah, near Basrah, where he lies buried; or Hossein his grand-son by Fatemah, who was slain at Kerbela, near Bagabad, where he is entombed, and where his monument is resorted to every day by immense crowds of Persians, and even by Turks who chance to pass that way.

he disposed his army in the following manner : Bahadyr-aaly-qhan, with the heavy artillery was placed in the front of all: behind him was stationed Haidar-aaly-qhan with the field pieces; and he was to be supported by Rahem-qhan and Mir-mahmed-cazem-qhan, and Dost-mahmed-qhan at the head of their respective brigades: these were his main body in one line. On the left of this, and a little behind, over against the part where the Marhattas had made their appearance, he placed Sayd-ahmed-qhan, his son-in-law, with Allayar-qhan, and Mirza-Iredj-qhan and Radja Sunder-sing, and Radja-camcar-qhan with some other commanders, all at the head of their brigades. Umer-qhan received orders to ride the Viceroy's standard-elephant, quite close to the prince himself and in his front; and that commander's four sons, viz. Affalet-qhan, and Dilir-qhan, and Ahmed-qhan, and Mahmed-qhan, with their troops, were ordered to attend their father. But Sheh-din-mahmed with several other commanders, received orders to cover their flank: all these dispositions being made, the Viceroy took his post in the center of all. On the opposite side, the two Afghan generals put their army in the following order of battle: they had of their own about thirty thousand horse and foot, besides Baqshi-bôsliah's infantry, and a multitude of other Afghans lately arrived. Hayat-qhan, a commander of character, was stationed with his corps on the very Banks of the Ganga, towards the left, with a battery of heavy cannon, with which he had orders to fire incessantly against the enemy's center, and against Aali-verdi qhan's person: the rest of the army formed a body that extended in a line west wards of the River for a great length. The Marhattas on the other hand, forming an angle with this line, fronted the whole left wing of the enemy; and Aali-verdi-qhan, enclosed between two armies, each of which was stronger than his own, looked like a gem encircled with metal. The Marhattas were skirmishing endlessly, and the Bengal army seemed to be given up for lost; but it must be acknowledged for the sake of truths, that never did that hero exhibit so much steadiness and fortitude, as in that trying day, in which few
men

men would have not felt their firmness daunted by so formidable an appearance of superiority. The two armies now advancing to engage, and the artillery firing already, a ball directed by the sovereign disposer of events, took up Ser-dar-qhan's head, and shockingly mangled his body; and his troops deprived of a commander, reputed still braver than Shimshir-qhan, were disheartened, broke their ranks, and then dispersed: nor were these less than a full half of the Afghan army. By this time Haider-aaly-qhan was advancing towards those disheartened troops with his infantry, and perpetually pouring upon them such sheets of fire, as darkened the light of the sun; and having turned noon-day into a dark night, the ambient air became as black and as frightful as the reprobated faces of those wretched ravagers. Aali-verdi-qhan on observing the confusion and fluctuation occasioned by this fire, ordered Sheh-djehan-yar and Fakyr-ollah-beg-qhan to advance with their cavalry, and to charge the confused enemies; but neither of those two officers moved a step. At this very moment the Marhattas, and Mir-habib, seeing the Bengal army fully employed by the Afghans, fell upon it's left wing, and made so vigorous an attack, that Seradj-eddölah, whose elephant was close to that of his uncle, observed " that matters grew " serious there, and that some assistance must be sent against those enemies " immediately, or it would become too late to think of it." Aali-verdi-qhan with an inflamed face, and a tone of anger and peevishness not customary to him, answered bluntly, *pray, who are the Marhattas? and who is Mir-habib? my enemies now are those that are before me: after I shall have been revenged of those miscreants, I hope with god's blessing to give a good account of the Marhattas themselves, and to drive them out of my country.* After this answer, he, without looking at the Marhattas, continued with his face turned against the Afghans; and he again sent an order to Fakyr-ollah-beg-qhan to charge directly. Whilst he was yet speaking, a swift horseman came up, with a joint message from Rahem-qhan, and Dost-mahmed-qhan, and Mir-cazem

Cazem-qhan, and Háider-aali-qhan, requesting leave to charge immediately, as the enemies seemed confounded, and greatly disordered by the fire of the infantry; "we only wait for your order," added the messenger; "and be sure to cover our rear so as to preserve our communication with you." *Go my valorous fellows, answered the Viceroy, go where victory beckons to you; and rest assured that you shall see me close to your backs, and at hand to support you.* The messenger having returned on a gallop, a moment after the first line was seen to move forwards; the Viceroy immediately moved at the same time; and the action at once became a scene of hand-blows. Dost-Mahmed-qhan and Mir-Cazem-qhan, both rivals of glory, and both friends, rode on the same elephant; and desirous of being before hand with the others, they were pushing eagerly forwards; and the engagement now becoming closer and closer, every one engaged the man over against him, and fought hand to hand, in such a manner that the enemy's blood commenced flowing in abundance, and it dropped on the dry ground, like the hair from the eye-brows of the afflicted ones. The two friends pushing eagerly forwards, without looking behind, at last closed with M8rad-shir-qhan's elephant, upon which Mir-cazem-qhan, was already jumping, having seized the opposite Hö8dah with one hand. The Afghan-general, although wounded by a musquet ball, had force enough to raise his head, and seizing a sabre or an Afghan knife (59), he twice struck his enemy, cut some of his fingers away, and made him quit his hold. Whilst he was thus engaged, Dost-Mahmed-qhan jumped into the Hö8dah, and having brought him down by his weight, he cut his head off: instantly the man who had lost his hold and his fingers, having applied his wounded hand to the Hö8dah's board, got up again. It was at that time that Shimshir-qhan fell wounded from his elephant, without it being known how, nor by whom. This having been perceived by Djib-

(59) An Afghan knife is equal to a half a sabre.

beg, a gentleman attached to Dilir-qhan, he jumped down from his horse, cut off the Afghan's head, and ran to present it to Aali-verdi-qhan; and these two guilty heads, stuffed with so much ingratitude and pride and imprudence, having been now brought down from their seats, by the dispositions of an avenging providence, were made fast to the feet of the Viceroy's elephant. At sight of this, that prince inclined himself profoundly, and rubbed the front of humility on the ground of acknowledgement, for an event which became a sure fore-runner of victory; setting open at the same time the gate of joy and gladness, he ordered the musick to strike up, and the enemy to be charged every where, without affording him time to breathe. Mean while the Marhatta army, which had advanced fiercely against the left wing, as against a sure prey, finding that the engagement had taken a turn which had never been so much as suspected, and which had intirely changed the face of things, were astonished at the firmness and fortune of a man always crowned with success: they doubted of their being able to face so fortunate a commander; and quitting the engagement, they commenced retreating; so that Aali-verdi-qhan being freed from those importunate enemies, turned his whole attention against the Afghans; he pursued them to their camp, which he entered with all the pride of victory, planting his fortunate standards at the very entrance. All this while the unfortunate governor's consort, Aminah-begum with her daughters, and Mirza mehdy her son, were kept prisoners in a tent, that had become the seat of misery and wretchedness, and where they were exposed to all kinds of hardships and to every kind of contumely: those unfortunate persons hearing of this unexpected revolution, thought they had come a second time into the world, and they commenced to breathe freely. Those illustrious captives were brought the Viceroy's quarters, and a flood of tears, as well as an inundation of joy, followed the interview: all was silence for a long while: at last they both opened their hearts and mouths to return their acknowledgements to the supreme comforter. On hearing of this
piece

piece of good news, the Inhabitants of the City of Azim-abad, high or low gave themselves up to an universal joy; and their hearts contracted this long while by the pressure of misfortune, sorrow and regret, being set at liberty by this revolution, expanded at the wellcome news; they thronged in crouds to see the unexpected scene, and to kiss the desired threshold; and they returned home each with a provision of joy for the rest of the year. The nobles and the people flocked out of the gates into the victorious camp of that fortunate and benevolent prince, to contemplate that pattern of both glory and simplicity of heart; and after having feasted their eyes with the sight of their beloved lord, and contemplated the individuals of a family that had become the darling of mankind, they seemed to have obtained the utmost scope of their fondest wishes. Aali-verdi-qhan, after having given some rest to his troops for a couple of days, spread his victorious standards, and marched into the city of Azim-abad in military array, but yet with a pomp that darkened the eye of his enemies, and gladdened the hearts of his friends. He carried so much benignity in his looks, and shewed so much mercifulness and condescendence in whatever he did or said, that he afforded long draughts of a refreshing relief to the distressed inhabitants of a city and country, whose afflicted hearts had been these two months and a half thirsting after such a day, and spreading constantly the eye of expectation as a carpet for his beneficent arrival. The prince's emotions at these unfeigned demonstrations of joy were guessed by his alighting again, to return his acknowledgement to the spring and author of all benefits: he renewed his orders for performing the vows and oblations he had promised, and commanded sums and pensions to be distributed to the needy, to the Séyds, and to the distressed believers (60), as well as to the impotent and poor of all sorts; after which he wrote to his deputy at M8rsh8dabad, that "Thanks be to God, he had obtained a complete victory,

(60) By the words believers, the author always means Shyahs.

“ and such as his heart had wished ; and that, therefore, there remained no-
 “ thing more on his part, than to distribute to the Sêyd and to the needy fami-
 “ lies of that city, the sums that had been vowed for their relief,” he comman-
 ded him “ to keep always in his eye the content and satisfaction of the inha-
 “ bitants committed to his care, as the main object of his administration;
 “ so as to afford some consolation to a loyal people that had already suffered
 “ but too much from the apprehensions of the iniquitous government of a
 “ set of miscreants that had murdered his children, overwhelmed his family
 “ and essentially injured his loving subjects.” These letters being dispatched, he
 sent trusty officers and other persons of his household to confiscate and bring
 away the property which that ungrateful nation had left at Deher-banga: at the
 same time letters came from the Zemindar of Betia, humbly setting forth, that the
 “ families of Shimshir-qhan and Serdar-qhan had been lodged with him by
 “ their owners, as in a place of safety; and that should these defenceless persons
 “ be suffered to depart to some other country, he would undertake to pay to
 “ his highness a nuzur or present of three lacs of Rupees.” This offer was not ac-
 cepted; and trusty persons were sent to bring that family away. In order to give
 those persons more weight, and also to keep the Zemindar in awe, Aali-verdi-
 qhan himself crossed the Ganga, and under pretence of hunting, he advanced
 two or three days journey towards the Betia; after having left the care of the
 city to his Son-in-law Sâyd-ahmed-qhan. The Zemindar of Betia intimidated
 by those appearances, thought proper to deliver to the envoy the consort and
 daughters of Shimshir-qhan; and orders were immediately dispatched to them,
 to bring *those Ladies in covered coaches, and with so much decency and care, as*
that they should never come to be defiled, by any prophane eye: directions likewise were
given, that instead of being carryed along the main street and the several Markets of
the city of Azimabad, they should take a circuit, go round the unfrequented parts of
the ramparts, and be conducted with the utmost respect and secrecy to his seraglio,
about the western gate ; But by all means to take care that they should suffer no in-
 jured

jury, nor meet with any subject of discontent on their way. As soon as they arrived at the gate of the sanctuary, they were received with kindness, and assigned a decent apartment for themselves and their attendants. The attention to decency was carried so far, that Seradj-eddöslah, who was the whole delight of his soul; and who used to get into the Prince's Seraglio at all times, without sending or giving notice, was now commanded to submit to those demonstrations of respect and precaution; lest the sight of unlawful women should by some chance come to meet his youthful eye: a precaution to which Aali-verdi-qhan submitted himself now, always sending notice (61), whenever he went into his inner apartment. He also made it a point to shew those ladies every mark of regard and attention: whenever he received any fine fruit, or any victuals had been prepared to his particular mind, (and he was very nice in this last article,) he always sent them a share first of all, and then only he thought of his own comfort and daughters; and such a share was always upon an equality; but whenever there happened to be some holy days, or some other solemn occasion, in which it became proper to send Shimshir-qhan's consort a compliment or a message suitable to the occasion, it was always by the expression of *Nani* or of *my grandmother*; for as to the daughters, he never so much as mentioned them: a delicacy, that does him the more honor, as his own daughter, and his grand children of both sexes, had been treated with the utmost contempt and contumely by those ungrateful miscreants, who would have never been able to repay him for the many favors heaped upon them, had they spent their whole lives in his service; and who yet made no other return for so many benefits, than that of suffering those forlorn captives to become a prey

His extreme
delicacy on their
account.

(61) In that case people of the highest distinction keep always on the watch at the gate of the Seraglio some Eunuch, or at least an old woman, whose business is to run forwards and give notice to the Ladies. Inferior people always stop at the curtain that indicates the apartment of women, and either cough several times, or talk aloud, or strike their hands together. This precaution is intended to afford some delay to any women that should be bathing, or drying their hair in the sun, or shifting their clothes, or even proving without a veil; any intrusion at such a time, by even the master of the house, would occasion a general screaming, or at least much murmuring.

to every distress and every misery imaginable: so infamous a behaviour rendered those miscreants in their life time, the scope of the arrows of every one's satire and reproach; and after their death, their memory has ever been held in horror and detestation. But it was not with any view to himself that Aali-verdi-qhan, had sent for those Afghan ladies: it was, said he, to rescue their honor from the consequences of a sudden revolution, or a precipitate flight: for to all the sweetness of good manners and good breeding, he joined a great knowledge of mankind, and a very keen sighted prudence; and he was heard to say more than once, that he had no business at all with any man's honor or women, although he should prove his bitterest enemy. *Business with his women*, would he say, *I never had, nor will ever have; and if I have sent for these veiled ones, (62) it is to shew the world, and even to Shimshir-qhan's departed soul, what difference there is between myself and me* That man had made me no proper return, by using so shamelessly ill my children and grand-children: Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan himself had offered him no injury; and *I am not conscious of having done that Afghan any thing but much good: And even supposing that he did harbour some secret discontent against my son-in-law, still he revenged himself by treating him as no man ought to be treated by another; But what had his women done him? and what was the guilt of his consort? what wrong had they done him, for his inflicting such a treatment upon them?* Such were that prince's sentiments. Some time after, he found an opportunity of carrying his benignity much farther. Shimshir-qhan's eldest daughter had been betrothed to one Shah-mahmed-afac, one of the descendants of Cassem-Sulëimany's: an Afghan of note, who had turned Fakyr or religious in times of yore, but who had been shut-up in the fortress of Chen-nar-gur by order of the Emperor Djehanghiri (63), who did not like his be-

(62) This is the polite expression for signifying women.

(63) One of the ancestors of Mahmed-shah, and the ninth in order above him: he was represented with a broad face, a thin goat's beard, and a very thin pair of whiskers; so that the Tartarian features may be seen of late as that face. His son Shah-djehan had a thorough Indian face, that is a beautiful one in the European style.

ing followed by such shoals of sectators: there the man ended his life and there his disciples in conjunction with the Afghans his sectators, had raised over his bones a fine monument much resorted to by devotees, and which in Aali-verdi-qhan's time, was kept in full repair, so as to attract much notice. This monument cuts a figure in the western part of the town, adjoining to the fortress itself; but since the English have added that strong hold to the conquests they have made of all the eastern provinces of Hindostan, the Mausoleum has lost it's revenues, and the pilgrims their usual entertainment: it is now going to decay; and god only knows what further humiliation it is still to expect. This Mahmed-afac, bearing a character much admired by the Afghans, Aali-verdi-qhan sent for him, and bestowed on him his intended bride. The nuptials were celebrated in so generous a manner, that he made rich presents to the new married couple, conferred a number of favors on the whole family; and at their own request, he dismissed them to Deher-banga, which was their native place, and where by his order they were complimented with several villages that furnished amply to their subsistence. Another instance of Aali-verdi-qhan's benignity of temper, and of his regard for the sex in particular, may be observed in his attention to Mir-habib's consort, that bitter enemy to his person and family. The consort of that general, even after his flight and defection, had continued to enjoy perfect safety in M8rsh8dabad, where she remained several years, always respected by the government. But as the keeping such a family any longer in that capital was susceptible of inconvenience, the Viceroy wrote now to his Deputy, to have that lady conveyed to the frontiers with her whole family in the most decent manner, after having complimented her with a larger sum of money than that which she had requested herself for the charges of her journey. The order bore that her person should be entrusted to some approved man, whose business should be not to lose sight of her, until she had been delivered into her Lord's hands. All these events happened about the time when news
came

A. D.
1748-9

came, that the Emperor Mahmed-shah had departed this life, and that his son Ahmed-shah had become in his stead the ornament of the Hindostany Throne.

T H E
 S Ė I R M U T A Q H E R I N;
 O R
 V I E W O F M O D E R N T I M E S;
 B E I N G A N
 H I S T O R Y O F I N D I A.
 FROM THE YEAR 1118, TO THE YEAR 1194 OF THE HEDJRAH.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

SECTION VII.

STRANGE conspiracy of a son against his father.—Seradj-ed-dö8la's ascendance on his uncle's mind.—Dissentions creep in the viceroy's family.—Amazing fortune of Ata-allah-qhan.—The viceroy carries with him to his capital a number of learned men of Azimabad.—The author finds his grand uncle, Abdol-aaly-qhan, disgraced, and in misery.—And all his relations and friends, gone to the court of Moorshoodabad.—Séif-qhan, hereditary governor of P8rania, is slighted by the viceroy, and soon after dies.—Ill conduct of his son and successor, who has the folly to take a journey to Moorshoodabad.—The Marhatta prince Djanodji attempts to plunder that city.—The viceroy marches against him.—A whole brigade mutinies, and is broke and disbanded.—The viceroy pursues Djanodji.—Infamous usage offered to the willing garrison of Bara-bati.—That fortress surrenders.—Description of the city of Catec.—The viceroy returns to his capital, through an infinity of difficulties.—First campaign of Seradj-ed-dö8la.—Strange infidelities in the Bengal army.—Strange behaviour of a zemindar who had offered himself for a guide.—Serajd-ed-dö8la elopes and revolts.—The old viceroy passionately doating on his grandson.—Strange attack on the city of Azimabad, by sixty men.—Singular combat between two noblemen,

noblemen, equally stout and brave.—The viceroy recovers his nephew, and then falls dangerously ill.—The viceroy again, at the head of his troops, forces the Marbattas to retreat.—The two parties tired of a twelve years' war.—Peace concluded.—An immense balance, long forgotten, recovered for the treasury by a gentoo minister.—Some account and death of Mir-babib, a famous Marbatta general.—Death of the Gentoo minister, Djankiram; and some account of Ram-narain.—Death of young Egram-ed-dö8la.—Which in time causes that of his adoptive father, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan.—Infamous conduct of Seradj-ed-dö8la, in his private hours.—His person detested.—He for his coup d'essay, murderstwo illustrious noblemen, brothers.—Noble reflections of the author on those two murders.—Nevazish-mahmed-qhan infinitely regretted.—His eulogium.—Some account of his second brother, Sáyd-ahmed-qhan.—His death.—Singular character of an old woman called Dana-annga.—Death of Ally-verdi-qhan.—An account of his private life.—Singular prediction of his, with regard to the English.

WE have left Aali-verdi-qhan on the other side of the Ganga. As this was a country full of game, and he was exceedingly fond of hunting, he passed forty or fifty days on that side of the river; and it is there that Seradj-ed-dö8la, who could not digest the appointment of his uncle Sáyd-ahmed-qhan to the viceroyalty of Azimabad, spoke some words, and committed some actions, that little became his station and his person; and it is at such a conjuncture, likewise, that he gave some presages of the hastiness of his temper, and the improvidence of his conduct. There also he gave evident signs of his influence in the politicks of the government, and of his unbounded influence over his grand-father's mind; and this was about one of the strangest events which history ever recorded, a conspiracy of a son against his own father! an event which may be ranked amongst those that serve to awaken the attention of mankind; and to put the most confident upon their own guard against wickedness and malevolence. But it must be remembered first, how that pattern of mankind, the illustrious Mir-mahmed-aali,

med-aali, the learned, (whose learning and merit may God continue for a length of time!) * had crossed over from P8rania to Mongher, to make a visit to Aali-verdi-qhan. As he had some connections with Séif-qhan, the hereditary governor of P8rania, a province which is situated just over against Mongher, and on the other side of the Ganga, he had re-crossed over to renew his acquaintance with that nobleman, as well as with his eldest son, a young lord whose name was Faqhr-ed-din-hosséin-qhan, but who went by the name of the Navvab-bahadyr, or valiant Navvab. On his departing from thence after his visit, this young lord gave him a petition, that is a letter for Aali-verdi-qhan, which inclosed a letter to himself; nor did the illustrious Séyd ever so much as dream of the contents; for he promised to put the letter in Aali-verdi-qhan's own hands at some disengaged moment, and to support the contents with all his influence; and as he was naturally of an unsuspicious temper, he carried it to that prince, and on the very first opportunity, put it into his hands. The viceroy having perused the contents, turned towards the lord Séyd, and uttered these words: *Well, my lord Séyd, I shall do whatever you desire, and as you shall bid me.* As the lord Séyd knew nothing at all of the contents, he expressed some surprise at these words, and could not help answering, that he was not privy to the contents of the petition. Upon this the viceroy put in his hands both the petition and its inclosure; that is, the letter directed to himself. On perusal of both, the poor man was struck dumb with the contents, which proved to be no less than a proposal from that denatured son, to seize the government of the country, make his own father a prisoner, and send him down to Moorshoodabad; for all which performances he requested only a small military force from the viceroy. It was on discussing this unnatural affair that Seradj-ed-dö8la gave specimens of his turn of mind, and proofs of his boundless influence over the viceroy's mind. It was on the following occasion: amongst those
that

Strange conspiracy of a son against his father.

* He died at Moorshoodabad a few years ago, and left a library of two thousand volumes: an amazing number, indeed, in such a country as this.—He was so highly respected for his learning, that both the Navvab Mubarec-ed-dö8la, and the Navvab Muzaffer-djung, alias Mahmed-reza-qhan, used to make him a profound bow from afar, on their going to render him a visit; nor did they offer to sit down, without being bid.

that accompanied the lord Séyd, was a simple, very plain man, called Aga-Azimái, who had once served Séif-qhan, hereditary governor of P8raniah, as his pay-master general, in which office he had contracted an intimacy with some officers, and amongst others with Serdar-qhan, that Afghan commander, who was in the same service, and had lately cut so capital a figure at the sac of Azimabad. This simple man was now taken to task by Seraj-ed-dö8la, under pretence that he had been all along in close correspondence with the Afghan, had been deeply concerned in the revolution at Azimabad, and actually was possessed of a hoard, acquired in the plunder of that city by the late commander, but intrusted to his care and secrecy. The only proofs he adduced of so perilous a charge, was that in the endless plunder and continual defilements to which that ill-fated city had been a prey for full two months, Serdar-qhan, who then chanced to remember his acquaintance, and to retain some sense of the many favours he had once received at his hands, now thought proper to pay a regard to some families and some houses, recommended to him by Aga-Azimái. This intercession became his crime: and Seradj-ed-dö8la having now taken mighty exceptions against this particular circumstance, and even instilled his own suspicions and ideas on his grand father's mind, Aga-Azimái was accused, as being one of the conspirators, and as concealing the sum of eight lacs, deposited in his hands by Serdar-qhan, out of the plunder of Azimabad. Such an accusation found credit; and matters were likely to take a very bad turn with the poor man, had not the lord Séyd taken him under his safe-guard, and obtained his liberty from the viceroy. The man on being released, quitted that perilous spot, and repaired to Azimabad, where Séyd-ahmed-qhan, the deputy governor, gave him service. This giving service to the man, was not relished at the court, then at Mongher; and possibly is it from so small a subject, that some dissensions soon commenced in Aali-verdi-qhan's family, that gave rise to mighty events.

We have said that the viceroy had appointed Séyd-ahmed-qhan, his second nephew and son-in-law, to the government of the city and province of Azimabad; an office which had been promised him at the very beginning of the Afghan war, and with which he seemed

seemed to be fully invested, under the modest appellation of deputy-governor. One of the first actions of the new governor's, was his sending for a number of persons of distinction, now out of his province, and attaching them to his service by suitable pensions. These were the flower of the nobility: they had all been in the murdered viceroy's service, and were only dispersed by his death. Amongst these was Mehdi-neffar-qhan, maternal uncle to the poor man; he had sought an asylum in the fortress of Rhotas. Another was Naky-aali-qhan, younger brother to the poorman: next came Aareb-aali-qhan, Qhadem-hassen-qhan, and several others. This liberality was not relished by Aali-verdi-qhan's consort, who observed, "that as the province of Azimabad was so situated, as to
 " be the main gate that afforded an entrance into Bengal, to which
 " country no army could penetrate without it's governor's concurrence, it was improper to leave so important a post in the hands of
 " a person which she stiled a stranger; that her eldest son-in-law,
 " Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, being a man of a weak conduct, and
 " of weaker intellects, it became evident that on her husband's
 " demise, Sayd-ahmed-qhan, although her son-in-law likewise,
 " would become a sworn enemy to her other daughters, and of
 " course to her two grand children, Seradj-ed-dö8la, and his younger
 " brother, Ecram-ed-dö8la. After such a chain of reasoning she
 " concluded, that so important a government ought to be lodged
 " in such hands as she might trust entirely." The princess having said so much, lowered her tone of voice, and with an air of concern and affliction, "she mentioned the high salaries and expensive pensions which her nephew had been bestowing upon the principal nobility of the province; and she glossed over them as upon so many misdemeanors, which took their rise in deep schemes, and concealed remote views and high-flown designs." Such a speech from a princess, that had given her husband the highest opinion of her wisdom, could not but make a deep impression on his mind; but the princess, as if doubting her own influence in instilling her own jealousies in her husband's mind, took care to employ another engine, still more powerful. She taught Seradj-ed-dö8la to mutter publicly, "that if the viceroyalty of Azimabad was not bestowed
 " on

Dissentions in
 Aali-verdi-
 qhan's family.

“ on Séyd-ahmed-qhan, he (Seradj-ed-dö8la) would not survive
 “ the affront, but would make away with himself. He used to
 “ say that the Bahar was his father’s property: that it came to
 “ him by hereditary right, as a paternal estate, and ought not to
 “ be given away to others.” Words to that effect, from a youth
 who had now become the old man’s whole delight, and his very
 soul, could not fail to sink deep in his mind, on the first moment
 of their being reported to him. His whole soul centered in that
 young man; and to give him the least uneasiness, was a thought
 which he could not bear. On the other hand, he was accustomed
 to pay the highest deference to his consort’s advice, and the ten-
 derest regard to her wishes; and he also confessed, that after all,
 her opinion tended to the completion of a scheme which he had set
 up with her concurrence; namely, that of declaring Seradj-ed-dö8la
 heir to his estate, and his successor in all his dominions. No won-
 der then, if overcome now by the intreaties of a beloved consort,
 and unable to withstand Seradj-ed-dö8la’s displeasure, he altered
 his mind with respect to his other grand-son and nephew, and to-
 tally declined to fulfil his promise to him. The latter, who thought
 himself shockingly wronged by such a proceeding, and moreover
 exposed to ridicule, was stung to the quick at such an unexpected
 reverse; and giving way to the emotions of his resentment, he ab-
 stained from going to court, and lastly resolved to quit Bengal, and
 to repair to Shah-djehan-abad, where he intended to seek his for-
 tune at the imperial court. The old prince, wounded by his ne-
 phew’s discontent and secession, attempted several times by notes
 in his own hand, and also by letters, to apologise for his conduct,
 and to sooth his nephew’s mind; but all was to no purpose. Matters
 went so far, that the nephew proved inexorable; and in one of his
 answers he protested, that he was bound by a solemn oath to quit
 Bengal, and to go to the imperial court, should the matter fail of
 taking the turn he wished. This was answered by a note in the
 hand of Aali-verdy-qhan himself: it contained these two short
 sentences; *to atone for such an oath, is easy; and to quit a loving uncle,*
imprudent. After dispatching the note, he went to pay him a visit,
 where he addressed him in these words: “ Son, it is out of love to
 “ you

“ you that I stoop to these entreaties, and possibly to these importunities; else, you know yourself, that my custom is to speak once to a man, and to inform him of my mind; after which I leave him to his own self, never to speak to him again. If this resolution of yours arises from some other matter of discontent, speak out, I am here to afford you redress, and to oblige you to the utmost extent of your wishes; and if you do not chuse to speak yourself, here is Hekim-begh, and some other gentlemen, your friends; make use of their channel, and cease to torment yourself and me any more on that head.” The visit being over, Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan made use of the channel pointed out to him, to ask the confirmation of some revenues he had acquired in his new government; and his request having been complied with, this disagreeable affair was immediately brought to an end. But as the rainy season was setting in, the Viceroy resolved to spend it at Azimabad, in order to arrange some matters of importance, and to settle every part of a province, which required his presence; he also sent orders to Moorshoodabad for bringing Seradj-ed-dö8lah’s consort to Azimabad under the charge of Radja Djankiram, whom he really intended to appoint deputy-governor of the province. Djankiram being arrived with his charge, a public day was appointed, in which a rich Qhylaát was put on Seradj-ed dö8la’s shoulders, in token of investiture for the government of Azimabad; and another of inferior value, on Djankiram, as his deputy, who was besides complimented with a fringed Paleki, and a kettle-drum. And to regain Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan’s good will to this arrangement, as well as to soften his mind, Djankiram received orders to wait upon him, and to ask his consent in a respectful manner. Sáy-d-ahmed-khan graciously granted it, although highly humbled by a transaction that exposed his character; and he gave him a Biry of *Paan, according to the custom of India, in token of that consent; his inten-

* That is two or three delicate leaves of *paan*, (or, as say the Europeans, beetle) cut in parts, and folded up like a Pyramid in a bit of banana-leaf, or plantain, containing likewise some shell-lime, or *chuna*, some *f8piari* (or beetle-nut) and some *caat* (or catchoo), the whole fixed with a clove that serves as a pin.

being to avoid every thing that might disoblige his uncle; and it is remarkable that Djankiram went by the Viceroy's order, in company with Sadr-el-hac-qhan*, to give more weight to his submission. Matters being now settled to his mind, Aly-verdy-qhan quitted Azim-abad at the end of the rains, and taking with him both Sayd-ahmed-qhan and Seraj-eddö8lah, he displayed his victorious standards, and took the road of Bengal.

Before the end of his journey, he dispatched an order to his deputy at Moorshoodabad for his getting Ataollah-qhan conveyed out of Bengal without delay, and without fail; for he had this long while harboured strong suspicions against this last nobleman, and they had been strengthened more than once, but never so much ascertained, as when his envoy and letters were of late intercepted, as we have already mentioned. Although such a traiterous conduct deserved punishment, and might have excited any other prince's resentment, he chose to leave the man to the remorse of his own conscience; and he ordered that he should be dismissed with his consort, family, riches, moveables and furniture; strictly recommending that no injury should be offered him on any account whatsoever; but commanding at the same time, that the order for his dismissal should be obeyed so expeditiously, as that on the arrival of the victorious standards at Moorshoodabad, no trace of his presence might be left in that city. The deputy-governor having received those orders, sent them with the letter to Ata-ollah-qhan; the latter, who had to this moment conserved pretiously the bond by which that impostor Mir-aaly-asghar-cobra had promised him the dominion of Bengal, now thought it full time to tear his heart from it; and having submitted to his fate, he departed with his family, his riches, his dependants, and whatever belonged to him. His ostensible fortune, by common report, amounted to sixty lacks of rupees, and seventy elephants; but he was known to be possessed, besides, of a quantity of gems, precious-stuffs, and gold †; and to have carried away the very

Amazing
fortune of
Ata-ollah-
qhan.

* The same who since became supreme criminal magistrate of Bengal, in 1780.

† Observe that such an amazing fortune, was no more than that of a second rate man in Bengal; a fodjdar of Bagalpur, who to the advantage of being allied to the reigning-family
by

very furniture of his house. Crossing the Ganga, he took up his quarters at Malda in the house of Mirza-zya-ollah, and spent some days in preparing every thing for his intended journey.

Whilst he was crossing over, Aaly-verdi-qhan was taking up his quarters at Radjemahal, called Acbar-nugur, where having celebrated the holy days of the feast of the sacrifice, he gave up his journey over land, and embarked on a fleet of boats; with which in a few days, he landed at Bagvangolah, where he was received by his deputy, and also by Husséin-c8ly-qhan, and some other distinguished persons amongst the nobility and principal citizens of Moorshoodabad. After having reposed himself a little, he mounted a mountain-like elephant, and with a pomp which became his victorious expedition, and his intripied troops, he made a tirumphant entry in the city, and arrived at his palace; where he was no sooner landed, than not satisfied with the many charitable actions he had already performed in thanksgiving for his successful expedition, he ordered new charities to be distributed to the Séyds, to the faithful, and to the needy and distressed of all sorts; he inclined himself again profoundly in the presence of the divine distributor of graces, and acknowledged that the victory bestowed upon him had something extraordinary, and such as strongly argued a particular interposition from above.

As he was a lover of learning and merit, he had taken care on quitting Azim-abad, to invite to his court several persons distinguished for their birth, rank, learning or talents, requesting them to follow his fortune, and to live in his capital. One of these was “the prince of the teachers, the pattern of the juriconsultes, “the model of the virtuous and of the illustrious, the detector of the “intricacies of questions, and the solver of the knots of difficulties, the prince of learned ones, his highness my lord Mir-mahmed-aaly, (the refreshing stream of whose learning, may God “almighty keep running for a long series of years!): Another was “the glorious and illustrious Qhan, the eye of mankind, and the

by marriage, added only that of having been fourteen years in a middling office. Such were then the riches of Bengal.

“ ball of that eye, Záir-hufféin-qhan, son to the learned doctor
 “ Moluvy-mohammed-nassyr, (upon whom may God’s mercy re-
 “ pose for ever!). The third was the illustrious and beneficent Qhan,
 “ Taky-c8ly-qhan, now deceased, son to Hadji-abdollah, fir-
 “ named the *Writer* or *Historian*, who had been divan of the pro-
 “ vince of Burhanp8r, in the times of the emperor Aarengzib-
 “ aalemghir (the conqueror). The fourth was the illustrious and
 “ high born Qhan, the beneficent, the munificent, the excellent
 “ and learned, the lord of one way of seeing (that is, the sincere),
 “ Aly-hibrahim-qhan, the valliant, son to doctor Mahmed-nassyr,
 “ cousin-german to the late Záir-hufféin-qhan. The fifth was
 “ Hadji-mahmed-qhan.” All these eminent personages accom-
 panied Aly-verdy-qhan to Moorshoodabad, where they were all
 welcomed with large pensions*.

It was about this time, and when that prince was setting out, that
 I, the poor man, arrived from Shah-djehan-abad, to see my glorious
 mother, as well as my brothers, relations, friends and acquaintances:
 all beloved persons, which I had given up for lost, on hearing of the
 enormities of which Shimshir-qhan and his people were every day
 guilty. In passing by Lucnow, I payed my respects to my glorious
 uncle, of whom I asked the reason of his having parted with Aly-
 verdy-qhan, his cousin, and of his being come so far. “ He answered,
 “ that thsi breach had been occasioned by his consort (Abdol-aaly-
 “ qhan’s;) and that matters were now past remedy; that he had lost
 “ his possessions, and also his peace of mind; and that being now de-
 “ prived of his country and fortune, a prey to the pains of mind and
 “ body, he was going to Shah-djehan-abad, in a state of despair; he
 “ added, that if he happened to be still alive, it was by the mere
 “ strength of his destiny.”

“ A bad woman in a good man’s house

“ Becomes his hell, even in this world;

“ Beware of a bad inmate, beware!

“ O! God preserve us from such a hell.”

* The lines marked by inverted commas, are a literal translation; and they are given
 here for a specimen of our author’s Oriental style.

And

And it is on the same account, as well as on account of Abdol-aly-qhan's dismissal, that there passed such a sharp dialogue between my mother and Aali-verdy-qhan; a dialogue which no one would have ventured upon, and which no one would choose to repeat. To put up with such expressions as were then heard by that prince, is what the nature of an angel would have overlooked, but which was more than the patience of a man could bear. This difference likewise broke an alliance, which Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan had desired between himself and Sëyd-aaly-qhan, younger brother to the poor man, to whom he intended to marry his own daughter; a princess which Aly-verdi-qhan has since bestowed on another, whom he has thought proper to honor with his alliance. Although it must be acknowledged, that this prince, as well as his three sons-in-law, had not their equals in forgiving the misdemeanors of relations, and in winking at the improper conduct of kinsmen; a condescendence extremely uncommon, and of which we see so few instances, even amongst private men. May God Almighty's goodness reward them for it, by extending over them for ever, the wings of mercy and forgiveness!

On my arrival at Azimabad, I found that Mehdi-neffar-qhan, my uncle, and Naki-aali-qhan, my brother, with all my relations, kinsmen, and friends, had quitted that city to follow Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan. These were Gholam-reza-qhan, son to Moortezevi-qhan; Aga-azimái, whom we have already mentioned; and Melec-mahmed-qhan, together with Qhadum-hosséin-qhan, Areb-aali-qhan, Mir-fazyl-aali, with all his relations; and Mir - asfed - aali, and the prince of the learned of Azimabad, Mollah - gholam-yahya, Mirvahed, and the mufti Zia-ollah, the Moluvi or doctor Laal-mahmed, and the late Mir-abdol-hadi. All these were the cream and flower of that city; so that finding it hard to live at a distance from such dear persons, and irksome, to remain in a city which had been evacuated by all my friends, I followed my uncle and two brothers, and without any assurance that Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan would admit me amongst his friends, I arrived at Mongher, where I landed, and where I was informed that the governor of Bahar was ashore, and actually busy in performing the rites of the day of the sacrifice,

sacrifice, and in eating, as it is customary, some of the roast meat actually upon the spit, and roasting in his presence. As this was a holy day, and a solemnity consecrated to visits, and to demonstrations of respect, and the prince happened to be almost alone; I thought that these circumstances not only rendered the occasion favourable to present myself before him, but likewise that they turned it into a duty incumbent upon me. Landing therefore from my boats with my youngest brother, Séyd-aaly-qhan, I went up, and making a bow at a distance, I advanced and congratulated him upon the holy day, presenting my nuzeer at the same time; he had the goodness to take it up with demonstrations of regard, seemed overjoyed to see me, made me sit down; and after having invited me to his repast, he requested my remaining with him henceforward as his friend, whether in voyage or in town. Immediately after, he assigned, both to me and to my brother, a pension adequate to our expences, and having ordered the paper to be brought up directly, he signed it in our presence; so that soon a mutual attachment took rise between that nobleman and me, (the most inconsiderable of mankind) of which mention shall be made in a proper time and place. Our journey being at an end, we arrived at Bagvangolah, where the governor, who could not digest his having been refused the government of Azimabad, and who harboured still in his heart much discontent against his elder brother, as well as against his uncle, at once resolved to pass the season there, and he gave his orders accordingly. Nevertheless, he was softened by his uncle's letters, and by the intreaties of his elder brother, who came to see him on purpose, and requested his coming to live at Moorshoodabad; and to this he consented at last. After tarrying full two months there, he came to the city, and landed in his own palace, which is seated on the Bagraty, over against that of Djagat-seat's, and from whence he ordered that the house of Mir-habib should be fitted up for us; that is, myself, the poor man, Mehdy-nessar-qhan my uncle, and Naky-aaly-qhan my brother.

We have said that Aaly-verdy-qhan, after his victory over the Afghans, was returning to Moorshoodabad; this opportunity was seized by Séif-qhan, hereditary governor of P8rania, who conceiv-
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ing that he had acquired some merit with the viceroy, not only by sending presents to him on his passage on the other side of the Ganga, but also by assisting with a detachment of useful troops, thought he had a right now to invite him over to his own side of the river, where he had made magnificent preparatives. It must be observed, that as he had already invited, and received successively, both Hadji-ahmed, brother to the viceroy, and Sáyd-ahmed-qhan, his son-in-law, on their occasionally passing up and down the river; and had engaged them to accept entertainments at Carangolah, which belonging to the dominions of P8orania; he concluded that Aaly-verdy-qhan, himself, would come over, and accept the entertainment he had prepared for him at the above place. He had set up a number of magnificent tents, and prepared a quantity of rich and curious presents; but these preparatives were not taken notice of by the viceroy, who knew that the fodjdar had always payed visits, both to Djaaser-qhan, and to Shudjah-qhan, his two predecessors in the viceroyalty of Bengal, to both which he thought himself vastly superior, either in military talents or in extent of dominions. The truth is, that he was not only much superior to them, but also equal, if not superior, to any potentate of his time, either in reputation or in real power. He therefore rejected Séif-qhan's invitations and offers; he even found so much fault with the request, that he was heard to say to his intimates, "That although Séif-qhan was
" a lord of the rank of seven thousand horse, and a son of Emir-
" qhan, the famous viceroy of Cab8l, yet, after all, he would not
" be deemed any thing higher or better than a fodjdar of P8rania;
" and since he used once a year, to comply so far with the rules of
" decency, as to come down to Moorshoodabad to see Djaaser-
" qhan and Shudjah-qhan, and Sér-effraz-qhan, why then does he
" not come to see me likewise? Possibly the gentleman thinks such
" a condescendance beneath his rank and dignity." Séif-qhan, who was not informed of these sentiments, and who expected that the viceroy would, like his brother and nephew, cross over, and accept his presents, sent him an invitation whilst he was passing by Talia-gary. But the invitation, although noticed, and even respectful, was rejected, and the message was answered in these very words: "If
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Death of
Séif-khan

“ to see me is the whole matter, why does he not come to Moor-
 “ shoodabad, as he always took care to do with the former nazims
 “ of Bengal.” Séif-qhan on hearing this answer, repented of his
 having come so far; and he returned to Pô8rania, his capital,
 where in a little time he fell sick, and his sickness turning to a
 looseness and flux, he departed this world at the beginning of
 the year one thousand one hundred and sixty-two. He was
 succeeded by his eldest son Faqhr-eddin-hosséin-qhan, who
 had no talents for government, and no capacity for such a charge;
 and he proved as bad a brother, as he had been a bad son. This man not
 only took possession of the government, but also seized on the fa-
 mily estate which amounted to immense sums that had been accum-
 ulating these forty years past, and consisted of ready money, jewels,
 of an inestimable value, gems, and precious costly stuffs. All this
 he took to himself, to the exclusion of his younger brothers; and
 not content with that, he snatched out of their hands even what they
 were already in possession of, leaving them only a small matter, or
 what they had been able to conceal. The viceroy, who was soon in-
 formed of all this, and who knew of no office in Bengal adequate
 to Sáy-d-ahmed qhan’s rank and pretensions, thought of this pro-
 vince, and he obtained the patent of it from the court: in a few
 months he put it in his hands, together with the rich qhylaát, and
 the other insignia that had come on purpose from the capital; and
 to render the ceremony more pompous, he added from his own an
 elephant, a serpich and Djica with a calghi, a chaplet of pearls, and
 a variety of other jewels. The soddary of Hoogly becoming vacant
 by this appointment, he made a present of it to Seradj-ed-dö8lah,
 appointing Mirza Piaren, a half-brother of his, whose real name was
 Mahmed-yar-qhan, to reside in that province, as deputy of the
 young prince’s. Some days after the governor of P8rania having
 sent forward a man of distinction, called Qhadem-hosséin-qhan, to
 take possession of his new government, he followed himself in a lit-
 tle time after, and this was at the end of the year. He was accom-
 panied by me, the poor man, and by some other persons attached
 to him, all which were at the head of two or three thousand horses
 and three or four thousand. Faqhr-eddin-hosséin-qhan finding that
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that he had now no other party left than that of apprehending the hem of the viceroy's garment, wrote him a respectful letter, where he proffered his acquiescence and submission to his pleasure. The latter now become covetous, wrote him in answer, "that he was his friend; and that he had better come over to Moorshoodabad where he wished to see him, and where he might rest assured that a regard would be payed to his utmost wishes, as is intention was to gratify him in every thing." Such a letter, which ought to have put him upon his guard, on the contrary inspired him with confidence; and like one who by his unworthy treatment of his brother had drawn upon himself the divine vengeance, he had the thoughtlessness to obey the order, and to prepare every thing for his journey to Moorshoodabad. Else, with the troops and equipages, and all the means of travelling and defence which he had ready under his hand, he might have crossed the Coffey: there being no Zemindar in the neighbouring country daring enough to oppose his journey; and even supposing that he should have meet with opposition, he might easily have got rid of it, by affording a small contribution and then continuing his voyage. But the man pursued by the divine vengeance for the wrongs he had heaped upon his brothers, and as the report goes, upon even his very father, proved so senseless as to set out for Moorshoodabad with a baggage of an immense value; but escorted by a body of troops which he had found ready at his hands, and which needed only a commander. In coming down he meet Sâyd-ahmed-Qhan by the way. The latter who always knew how to behave properly, sent his own son Shâocat-Djung with two or three officers of his army, such as Mehdi-neffar-Qhan and my humble self, to compliment him on his journey, and to condole on his father's death; and it was observed that the young man acquitted himself of his commission with a propriety of behaviour and expression that surprised every one. The next day Faqhr-eddin came to pay his respects to Sâyd-ahmed-Qhan, who received him with distinction, and made him a variety of presents. The third day the new governor continued his journey, and by the way he returned the visit: after which Fahr-eddin taking his leave, went on towards Moorshoodabad.

dabad, while the other continued his journey to Paraniah where we shall leave him for a while as, we intend to speak hereafter both of his person and administration: our business now being with his thoughtless predecessor, who having left his troops upon the Maha-Nudda over against Mincst, crossed the Ganga, and repaired to Moorshoodabad, where the Viceroy sent some persons of distinction to welcome him at his landing; and on his coming to pay his respects, he ordered a quilted Carpet or Suzeni to be spread for him, where he got him seated, and where he complimented him with Paan, and Atur or Essence of Roses, as well as Rose-water; and in short with all the honorific demonstrations of regard customary in India: after which he appointed a place for his residence, or in other words, for his confinement.

But whilst he was making this acquisition, he was losing his prime minister the Ráy-Ráyán-Chéin-Ráy, who now departed this life: he was succeeded by his deputy Birs-dut, who was ordered to execute the duties of that high office, but without being permitted to assume the title. This Chéin-Ráy was a curious sort of a man, but so able in his business, and with all so loyal, that he made no account of any thing, when it interfered with his master's interest. In a little time he had acquired so far his approbation, and had gained so much over his mind, that the persons of the greatest distinction at his court, without excepting the Viceroy's two sons-in-law, were obliged to make interest with him, where ever they had a point to carry: so that some times they found it expedient to pay him the greatest deference and regard; and how high was his credit and influence, may be conjectured by this single anecdote: I was once in a closet with the Viceroy, where he was conversing privately with his Nephews and Cousins, and where Sáyd-ahmed-Qhan having mentioned the present minister, was comparing him to his predecessor in that high office, and to his own private minister "no, my son," replied the Viceroy, *those you mean were my servants; whereas the other was no less than my master.* But after having complimented our readers with this little piece
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of private history, let us return to the thread of public affairs, and especially to the Marhattahs, and to Djano-dji their Prince and General;

This Djano-dji after defeat of the Afghans by the Viceroy, had been obliged to quit the neighbourhood of Azim-abad, and with a loss of forces and character, to endeavor to fall upon Moorshoodabad itself, in the Viceroy's absence. But having received by the way the news of his mother's decease, he abandoned his resolution, and leaving Mir-Habib with an army of Afghans and Marhattas, with which he was to find his way towards Midnipoor, and to establish himself there, he quitted the field and with only an escort, he repaired to Náigp8r: from, whence Rhago-dji his father sent his younger son, Bimba-dji, with a strong body of Marhattah horse to join Mir-habib. Mean while the Viceroy, as we have already said, having performed his vows a second time, and returned thanks to the author of all benefits for so signal a success, was continuing his journey to Moorshoodabad, in which city he remained to repose himself of the fatigues of his expedition, and to afford some release to the wearied inhabitants of his dominions; who in return never failed to be profuse in expressions of gratitude for the attention and benignity of his government. And now the country commenced enjoying some tranquillity: nor was any thing to be feared, but from the restlessness of Mir-Habib's, and the ravages of his Marhattas. The Viceroy who had taken upon himself the task of riding his country of such ravagers, took early occasion to display his victorious Standards, resolved to make an end of those free booters. It was in the first days of the second Reby in the year 1162. With that view he encamped some days at Catwa to assemble his troops. He had before hand sent Bahadyr-aali-Qhan commander of his light artillery to Bardévan with a body of eight thousand horse and foot, and an order to remain encamped there, to the end that should Mir-Habib attempt, according to his custom to ruin and ravage a country he could not conquer, he might find his passage barred-up by a respectable force. In a little time the troops being assembled, formed a nume-
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rous army, and marched to Bardevan. On his drawing near, Bahadyr-aali-Qhan drew-up his troops, and marched back a little to join him, and to pay him his respects; and after a few days he was ordered to procede with his detachment towards Midniser; but his troops, gunners, musqueteers and horsemen, after marching a little way, stoped short, and refused to move forward, unless they were payed their arrears; and the foremost of the mutineers was his own Brigade. The Viceroy to appease their clamours, sent two of the Lords of his Court, Mirza Hekimbeg, and Gholam-aaly-Qhan; and these Noblemen did every thing in their power to bring those people to a sense of their duty; but all to no purpose. The next day the Viceroy came-up, and immediately repaired to that commander's quarters, with intention to extinguish the fire of sedition by pouring upon the flames the water of persuasion and promises; and he concluded that by paying down part of their demands, and giving them for the ballances assignations upon his own deputy at the city, the money might be provided for before they should have time to dispatch their agent to receive it. But such proposals availed nothing; and they continued obstinate in their demand of being payed the whole immediately. It was observed that *one* Mir-afzyl-aaly, an officer of Cavalry in Bahadry-aaly Qhan's Brigade, was so far from endeavoring to put out the flames, that he did every thing to afford them fresh fuel. The Viceroy incensed at so much insolence, conceived that rather than to put-up with such a flagitious behaviour, it would be better to put his trust in God Almighty, the Succourer of the afflicted; and with one word he broke that whole detachment, resolved to have nothing to do with such Soldiers: after which he advanced to the enemy.

This little incident happened to prove the ruin of that thoughtless man, the discarded fodjdar of P8rania. On receiving an exaggerated account of this affair, he thoughtlessly imagined that all was over with the Viceroy, whose power was at an end; and immediately he conceived the design of availing himself of the opportunity to effect his escape. Listening to some favorites as light headed as himself, he quitted the
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the city without taking leave; and without giving notice of his design, he crossed the Ganga, and repaired to his troops, which he had left encamped on the Mahanedda; and there putting himself at their head, he marched towards P8raniah; But Sáydamhed-Qhan coming to hear of this unexpected proceeding, soon quitted that city; and putting himself at the head of his troops, he advanced to oppose him, and marched two or three Stages with that view. On this intelligence Fahrédin felt his Courage damped: that flash of resolution vanished in a moment; and it was succeeded by as much trepidation: Coming at once to his senses, he sent a respectful letter to Sáydamhad-Qhan, to deprecate his resentment, and to request his leave to pass by his army in order to depart the country. He was answered "that to grant such a permission was not in his power, as it depended on the Viceroy his Uncle; but that in his opinion it would be better for him to return to the place from which he had lately come". That senseless faint hearted man on this single intimation, marched back, and stopped at Malda, where we shall leave him at present, to return to Aali-verdy-Qhan.

As soon as he had broke that whole detachment of Munineers, he put his trust in the divine assistance; and continuing his march without being intimidated by so great a diminution of his force, as left him without a single piece of cannon, he arrived at Midnap8r. This arrival gave unbrage to Mir-Habib, who had cantoned himself there: little pleased with such a neighbourhood, he set his barracks on fire, saw the whole consumed, and then retrated with his army. The Viceroy on seeing this, passed the river Cassay without entering Midnip8r, and he encamped on the other side, after sending spyes every where to take information. In a little time intelligence was brought that the Marhattas were encamped in a woody tract of ground, on the other side of Midnip8r; upon which he immediately ordered Mir-Cazem-Qhan and Dost-Mahmed-Qhan with some other commanders to pursue the enemy, and to draw some blood from their veins. These marched the whole night, and arriving before day-break, they fell upon the Marhattas,

hattas, Sabre in hand; and an engagement ensued in which valorous actions were performed on both sides, untill at last the Marhattahs gave way and retired towards Catec with much loss and shame, always flying and always followed by the Viceroy, who tired of so hot a pursuit stopped at Balisser-Bender, and encamped in that spot. There he learned that Mir-Habib and Manadji with their Marhattas and Afghans, not thinking themselves a match for the Bengal army, had fled farther, retiring into the woody mountainous tracts of the 8ressa. The Viceroy continuing to advance, went beyond the river that goes by Badrac and Hadjip8r, where he encamped at a place called Bara, which is at about eighteen cosses distance from the city of Catec. There he received letters and deputies from Séyd-N8r and Serendaz Qhan, and from the Gentoo Deshemdas, three officers of Infantry who commanded the garrison of Bara-Bhati, a fortress. Close to that city: the purport was "that they were his humble servants, ready to execute any orders he would send them; and that whenever his victorious ensigns should emit their glorious beams over the walls of that fortress, the gates of it would be immediately set open; and his humble servants would make haste to kiss the sublime threshold of his tent, as they carried on their hands, and on their eyes the trappings of fidelity and submission." The Viceroy intent on pursuing Mir-Habib did not pay much attention to such an overture; he was following him incessantly; and he arrived at last in an uninhabited plain of difficult broken ground, where the baggage having not been able to keep pace with the troops, victuals and provisions became scarce and dear. The country was so woody, and the trees so close and so tall, that the vanguard, which had marched some cosses before, was lost, and no intelligence could be had of it for three days together; nor on the other hand could the troops that composed it, learn themselves where their main might be. The Viceroy concerned at such an incertitude, ordered all the Kettle-drums and Trumpets to go out of Camp at some distance, and to make as much noise as they could. The expedient succeeded; and the troops that had been thought lost, being guided by the sound, rejoined their main; so that this arrival was celebrated at camp by

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the whole army, as a festival. I am not unaware that this entrance of Aali-verdi-Qhan's in the woods, and his losing his vanguard there, as well as his making use of so strange an expedient to extricate his troops, looks pretty singular and fabulous; but as it is pretty well attested, and I hold this fact from numbers of persons that were in that army, I have not thought myself at liberty to pass it over.

It being certain now that no footsteps could be traced of either Mir-Habib's Afghans or of Manadij's Marhatahs, the army marched back; and the Viceroy leaving a body of troops to guard the valley that gives entrance into the woods, put himself at the head of the rest, which did not amount to more than two thousand horse, and marched back with intention to surprise the city of Catec, as well as the fortresses of Bara-Baty. He marched the whole night; and the following at about noon he crossed the Maha-nedda, which flows by that place, and suddenly displayed the standards of surprise and terror before its walls. But as he had marched by this time full sixteen hours, it happened that out of two thousand horse with which he had set out, no more than three hundred persons could be brought together, when the walls were discovered; and these were so overcome with weariness and fatigue, that so far from being able to fight, not one of them could so much as move a limb; and it must be confessed that this was a strange conduct indeed, and an egregious imprudence in a general so experienced and so wise: for had the garrison at that moment sent out a detachment to fall upon those men half dead with fatigue, he would have infallibly lost in that single day the fruit of so many years toil, and of so many victories and dangers; his people would have been knocked down, and himself would have shared their fate, and forfeited his character for ever. But such was his good fortune, and such the prevalence of his destiny, that the garrison, although very numerous, had lost their wits; and thinking they were Surrounded by a mighty army, they proposed to Surrender. By this time the sun being in its meridian, blazed with such intolerable fury, that

people dropped down on all sides, not one tent being arrived: so that the plain became as burning as that of the day of Judgment. In the after noon two principal officers of the garrison, to wit, féyd-nar and Derhem-dafs came out of the gates, payed their respects, were dismissed with honor, and then came back with promises to bring Ser-endaz-Qhan the next morning at day-break, by which time they were to leave their gates open, and to surrendereder the fortrefs. But as the words of the two deputies were not altogether to be trusted, he gave order to his guards to put them to the sword, should they fail to fulfill their promise; and he appointed Seradj-ed-dósla to see the order punctually executed. Accordingly he took his post behind a small tent that was just arrived for his Grand-father; and with a number of guards he waited the dawn of that day, which was to be the last of those two unfortunate men. At day break the two officers made him a profound bow; and then going in, they payed their respects to the Viceroy, who entertained them with kindness. A moment after, appeared Ser-endaz-Qhan himself * with some more officers of the garrison, and he alighted from his horse; but hardly had he alighted, than Seradj-eddóslah gave the signal to fall upon him: the man seeing that his life was aimed at on all sides, resolved to sell it as dear as possible; and without losing his presence of mind, he drew his Sabre, and fought manfully, all the while endeavouring to make his way to the Viceroy himself: fate opposed his resolution; and the man having lost a hand, was assaulted by numbers at a time, and fell head-long. Whilst this was transacting without, the two officers within were struck with surprise and horror; but they were secured by the by-Standers, and delivered over to the custody of Kishver-Qhan, a merciless, relentless Afghan, who spared them no hardships, and took care to turn his tent in to a loathsome prison. The garrison hearing how their officers had been used, refused to comply with the agreement; and

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* This narrative does not satisfy in the original: it is lame and full of contradictions; and although these have been reconciled as much as possible, still it is lame and unsatisfactory; but such is the text.

Shutting up their gates, they put themselves upon their defense. The Viceroy who did not think it prudent to lose his time at the foot of a dead wall, appointed a number of officers to besiege the place; and he marched up to Catec the capital of the province. These were Mir-Djafer-Qhan and Fakyr-allah-beg-Qhan and Radja D8l8bram with some others who had just arrived from pursuing the enemy. The siege lasted fifteen days, at the end of which, the besiegers, thinking they could resist no more, supplicated Mir-Djafer-Qhan and Radja D8l8bram to mediate some terms for them; and these having obtained that no injury should be done to them either in their persons or fortunes, the gates were opened, and the besieged went in a body to the quarters of those two officers. The Viceroy who had the curiosity to visit the foretreſs, marched in with his guards; nor will the reader be displeased with a short description of either that place or the City.

The foretreſs
ſurrenders.

The ground wherein that foretreſs and the city of Catec are ſeated, is an iſland ſurrounded by the waters of the Maha-nedda, and thoſe of the Cata-Djo8ri. The parts that are waſhed by the two rivers, are ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall built with ſquared ſtone, ſerving as a Dyke or mound againſt their innundations: for thoſe rivers which are fordable for one half of the year, ſwell ſo much in the rains that the Maha-Nedda becomes a mighty ſtream of about two coſſes (or five miles in breadth), and the Cata-Djo8ri of half as much. But the foretreſs of Bara-Bhati is ſeated on the Maha-Nedda, and about three coſſes in circuit. It is built of ſtone, brick and mortar, with a great deal of art; and a broad ditch faced with ſtone, ſurrounds the whole. But the city of Catec itſelf ſtretches on the leſſer river at about two coſſes from the Citadel. The governor's palace and the houſes of the Nobility and principal citizens (which in general affect the water ſide, and are moſtly ſeated on the ſaid mound) riſing by five and ten yards above the mound, cutt a handſome appearance; and they over look on both ſides of the water a fine extenſive plain that ſtretches from four to five coſſes around. The horizon is bounded by a foreſt of beautiful, lofty trees, that extend as far as the eye

Delightful ſitu-
ation of Catec.

eye can reach, and line the bottom and sides of a chain of high mountains that seem to reach the very sky; and this beautiful prospect with its triple circle of beauties, is enjoyed by the inhabitants the whole year round. As that spot of fortunate ground is surrounded on every side by the waters of two rivers, such a situation renders it very strong; and should any enemy attempt to besiege the place by coming to an understanding with the neighbouring Zemindars, and the siege should chance to be protracted untill the beginning of the rainy season, he would find it difficult to subsist, and his convoys would be greatly at a loss how to approach his camp: but independently of that, the country round this Island, and indeed throughout the whole Sreffa, is very difficult ground, especially about the rainy season, when it becomes so very intersected by frequent rivers, and endless deep torrents, that an enemy would find it impossible to reach the end of his journey. The Viceroy who was abundantly sensible of the consequence of too long a stay; and thought that so much as he had done was well enough; resolved to quit the country at any rate; and he appointed an officer of Cavalry called Sheh-abdol-subhan, a plain simple unqualified man, to fill the office of his deputy in Catec. The reason of such a choice was this: As there was a strong report that the Marhattas were lurking in the forest, and would sally forth on the first opportunity, as soon as they should see the passage from Bengal put an end-to by the rains, no man of character would chuse to accept an office, which was untenable; so that the Viceroy, determined to return at any rate, invested the very first man that accepted his invitation; whilst the man himself who did not dream of such a sudden promotion, thought it a good luck sent him from heaven; and doubtless he had an eye to the known verse;

“Dominion, although even for a short time, has still irresistible charms.”

Nor is there any other way of accounting for so strange a promotion. The Viceroy having in this manner rid himself of this affair, made haste to depart, it be-

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ing now the month of Affar: for the rains had already set in by the beginning of the month of Djutt; and that too with so much violence as well as perseverance, that not a day passed without rain: so that the little streams which hitherto had afforded hardly any water, now commenced swelling at such a rate, that to get over any single of them, proved a work of much time and much difficulty. In some of these indeed the water did not rise above the armpits, but then it ran with so much violence, that it was impossible to cross over. At every stream, and at every crossing, numbers of men and beasts were constantly lost, as it is expressly mentioned in those memoirs left us by Y8fus-aali-qhan son to Golam-aali-qhan. He mentions himself his having been in this manner stopped short by the little river of Termahan, which although low, ran with such fury, that for want of boats, they were obliged to cross it upon rafts made of pieces of trees and timber supported underneath by whole skins filled with wind. It is upon such frail machines that both men and tents and merchandise were obliged to pass. But the horses and other animals being obliged to swim over, hundreds of them were lost at a time: he adds that at a little stream, where he had the inspection of the passage, he lost no less than seventeen horses. From this specimen may be guessed what must have been the loss of the whole army, before they could reach the Cassai which runs by Midnapore; and what they must have suffered in crossing that river, where no more than four boats could be procured, and where the water was deep and violent. In short, there would be no end to this narrative; nor would it answer any purpose to mention that infinity of pains which every such little passage did cost infailibly. But the main evil arose from the slipperiness and miryness of the ground, which had rendered the roads so very bad, that had the army tarried a few days more at Catec, it would have been impossible to reach Moorhoodabad.

The Viceroy retires to his capital through an infirmity of difficulties.

Whilst the Bengal army was making its way to its capital through so many difficulties, Mir-Habib and his Marhattas were emerging from their lurking places in the forest, and falling upon the commanding officer at Catec. The latter although far

from

from having forces enough to face a great army, had however courage enough to fight it: no sooner did he hear of the enemy's approach, which happened to be six or seven days after his master's departure, than he marched out to fight: not that he was not sensible of the unequality of his force, but he thought his character at stake; he therefore charged vigorously, and behaved with a valour and conduct that did him a deal of honor; untill having received six wounds, and lost the use of his arm, he was over powered, and taken prisoner: this event was announced to the Viceroy whilst he was in Balisser-Bender. Such a reverse could not but wound his pride; but as the season did not admit of returning back, the business of revenging his deputy's defeat was deferred to the next season; so that he pursued his journey, and after a number of fatiguing marches, he arrived at Catwa, where crossing over upon a bridge of boats that had been prepared before hand, he on the beginning of Redjeb arrived at Moti djil, a palace which he had commenced. There he was met by his son-in-law Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, by Hosséin-c8li-qhan and by number of persons of distinction, which were received with honors and with presents; and it was at Moti-djil, that Bir8-dutt, who had hitherto succeeded to the prime minister or Rây-râyân, but without assuming the title, now received the investiture of that high office in a rich Qhylaât, which constituted him controller and superintendent of the Revenue office.

It was here likewise that the fall of Fahr-eddin-hosséin-qhan was determined. His incapacity, and cowardice had become now so apparent, that his very friends and troops used to quit him every day, and to take service with Sâyd-ahmed qhan at P8raniah; whilst himself with his immense baggage, and his riches immense, was spending at Malda, the whole rainy season, as if waiting what was to happen next. The Viceroy who now became fully apprised of his imbecility, sent some trusty persons to bring him over to Moorshoodabad, where he assigned him suitable lodgings, and a suitable pension, with guards to watch over his person: so that at one and the same stroke he took possession of that immense heap of money and jewels that had been amassing for half a century together. We

We have said that on Háider-aaly-qhan's brigade being broke, the whole of that detachment had undergone the same fate; so that their commander retired to Moorshoodabad, where he had lost his eye sight; and this misfortune had confined him to his house. But his broken troops applied to Seradj-eddó8lah by whose intercession they were re-admitted into the service. The command of the artillery and of the corps attached to it, was bestowed on that young Prince himself; and Sheh-Zia-Ollah, who had been for years together the friend and favorite of Ataollah-qhan, was invested with the deputy-ship of that office. About this time Mehdy-neffar-qhan my uncle, who at the instigation of Seradj-eddó8lah's mother, had fallen out with Sáyd-ahmed-qhan of P8raniah, now made his appearance at Moorshoodabad, accompanied by Naky-aaly-qhan, my younger brother, by Gholam-reza qhan, son to Mir-mortezevi-qhan, and by some other persons of distinction: all which he presented to Seradj-eddó8lah, on whose mind he soon acquired a compleat ascendancy. The young Prince who had taken offence at his uncle's behaviour this long while, and who knew how much Mehdy-Neffar-qhan had been attached to his father Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan the murdered Viceroy of Azimabad, received him with open arms, gave him service, as well as to all his friends, admitted them to his friendship, and assigned them suitable pensions. Mehdy-neffar-qhan gained so much ground upon that young prince's mind, that he became his principle favorite, and the daily object of endless favours and kindnesses.

Whilst an orage was gathering within Aaly-verdi-qhan's family, a storm was already breaking over the 8ressa. Mir-habib who listened only to the dictates of his jealousy against Aaly-verdy-qhan's fortune, was perpetually tormenting him in every manner in his power; and having once put on the odious character of ravager, he gave himself and others no rest, but was perpetually in action for ruining countries which he could not conquer, and rendering miserable people whom he could not bring under subjection. He had attached to his person a large body of Marhattas and Afghans with whom he was desolating these many years all
the

the countries south of the Ganga; nor did he seem either tired of his
 ill success, or inclined to submit to his fate. To drive such implacable enemies,
 from his dominions, and to deliver his people from such merciless ravagers,
 seemed incumbent on Aaly-verdy-Qhan's lofty mind; and he thought so him-
 self: for although worn down by repeated campaigns and endless wars, and broken
 with the infirmities of old age, he was ever ready to engage in an expedition.
 And first of all under pretence of a hunting match, (a divertissement also which
 he was very fond of, and which is not without its utility) he went out and en-
 camped at Mehrp8r, betwixt the southern and eastern part of the city, in a country
 that proved so very full of game, that reckoning only the Deer, there were
 killed every day hundreds of those animals. The poor beasts astonished at the
 noise and sight of such a multitude of men, were stupefied with fears, and so con-
 founded, that they ran from the brush and from the plain into the very camp,
 where they were taken alive, or knocked down with sticks and cudgels. After
 some days spent in this hunting, he turned to the south, and marched as far
 as Catwa, where he encamped to assemble his troops. From thence he marched
 to Bardewan, and then to Midnap8r. The enemies hearing of his drawing near,
 took to their accursed and wonted custom of hiding their unwelcome faces in
 desert difficult countries; and they concealed themselves so well that no intelli-
 gence could be had of them. The Viceroy passed the little river Cassay, and en-
 camped on the other side; and he resolved at this time to secure the passes so
 well, that his obstinate enemies should find it difficult to penetrate into his do-
 minions for the future. He therefore determined to pass the season at Midnap8r
 where he ordered his troops to barrack themselves; and where he gave the
 Fodjdary of that place and country to Ala-c8li-Qhan, commander of Seradj-
 eddó8lah's brigade. He resolved to send that young prince towards Balisser, where
 he heard that Mir-Habib had been seen. His intention in this, was to accustom
 the young man to face an enemy, and to command troops, whilst he afforded
 some rest to the main of his army; being of opinion that the troops which Mir-
 Habib

Habib could muster, were not such a force as might endanger his grand-son or his detachment. Seradj-eddó8lah having sent forward Dost-mahmed-Qhan and Mir-Cazem-Qhan to fee the enemy's pulse, marched himself after them. Dost-mahmed-Qhan having advanced briskly, at day-break found he was in the enemy's presence; and he attacked immediately, without waiting for Mir-Cazem-Qhan, his friend and rival. The enemy who dreaded the very name of Aaly-verdy-Qhan turned about, after having just stood their ground for forme's sake; and they fled as usual, intimidated even by Dost-mahmed-Qhan's slight attack. Seradj-eddó8lah having pursued the enemy, encamped at Balisser-bender; and as he had no orders to advance further, he discontinued the pursuit.

So slight a separation from that beloved grand-son of his, was enough to decompose all the gravity of Aaly-verdi-Qhan's behaviour. He doated so fondly on his beloved person, that he found it hard to be a whole day without his company; so that, when he found himself deprived of his presence for some days, whilst he knew him engaged in a scene of trouble and danger, he lost his usual firmness of mind, betrayed tokens of impatience, and could not reconcile himself to such a separation. To humour therefore his own inclination, and to turn it to some account, he resolved to try what could be obtained by marching forwards himself, and endeavoring to enclose Mir-Habib between two fires; hoping that such a neighbourhood would not fail to afford some favorable opportunity to Seradj-eddó8lah, or to himself. In the sequel he repented: was apprehensive lest the enemy should part the two armies, and avail himself of the young prince's inexperience and inattention to fall upon him; and he sent him orders therefore to come back; and following his own messengers, he advanced impatiently by long marches, whilst Seradj-eddó8lah himself was on his side lessening the distance. The two armies joined at Naràingur; and Seradj-eddó8lah having

hastened

hastened to embrace the feet of his grand-father *, filled the old man's heart with inexpressible joy. The two armies now cantoned themselves at Midnipp8r.

This moment of rest seemed to give rise to much heart-burning amongst the officers of the army, and to numberless divisions and discontents. Great discoveries were made in the finances, as well as in the administration of the army. One Qhadja-abdol-hady-Qhan, a Cab8lian by birth, who was an officer of Cavalry, although none of the considerable ones, came one day together with his country man Séyd-mahmed-yeffaol, and was introduced by Gholam-hofféin-Qhan, superintendant of the hall of audience: " they both represented that the
 " collusion between the accomptant's office, one one side, and the Paymaster-
 " general and the officers on the other, was such, that the musters were
 " shockingly overcharged, and immense sums made away; so that not one-fourth
 " of the men borne upon the books would upon examination prove to be
 " effective; that for a proof of their assertion, they appealed to their own case,
 " which was exactly such, and similar to what would come out to be the case of
 " every brigade, and every corps in the army, upon the slightest examination;
 " in one word, that to put the case of every brigade beyond dispute, they
 " wanted no more than to be entrusted for one day with the mustering of the
 troops." This speech struck the Viceroy with amazement; and the discovery being so very important, the request was complied with, and orders were given to the treasury, and to the several officers to attend on those two men, and to be obedient to their commands: when to every one's surprise and amazement, every one of the officers of the troops proved to be struck with confusion and dismay, like so many men had lost their wits. The two inspectors
 having

* This is the etiquette for meeting a father or a Grand-father, after some absence. In either case the old man's knees are to be embraced, and his feet, kissed.

having agreed together to mind neither rank nor station, nor recommendation, brought forth such a scene of villany, collusion and peculate as covered every one of them with eternal shame; and they supported their assertions, by such undeniable proofs, that it appeared as clear as day-light, that an officer of the army, who received pay for seventeen hundred horse, could not muster so many as eighty or even seventy; and that most of those that were borne for a thousand, could not shew so many as a hundred. These were strange discoveries indeed; and from thence the difference arising throughout the whole army may be easily guessed *. The two discoverers were loaded with presents, and preferments, and were daily advancing in favor: but they became objects of taunt and reproach; and they gave rise to a general discontent, and to many heart-burnings. It seems that every party acted wrong in this affair; neither ought these men to have carried their animosity and private interest so far; nor ought the army to have been guilty of such enormous collusions: still less did it become Aali-verdy-Qhan, in a time of war, and at the beginning of a campaign, to examine so minutely into such a discovery; especially as those commanders had always served him well, and had never spared their pains nor their blood; and as such an inquiry at such a time might have had fatal consequences: he ought to have remembered these verses of the poet.

“ Nothing but dust is to be seen in this plain immense:

“ Let us go quickly over it with our eyes shut-up.”

Whilst all Bengal resounded with this discovery, news came that the Marhattas having turned the Bengal army, were proceeding to Moorshoodabad by rapid

* Such are without exception all the armies and all the troops of India; and were we to rate by this rule, those armies of fifty and a hundred thousand men that fought, or were slaughtered at the decisive battles of Palasy and Bacfar (and by some such rule must they be rated by all means), we would have incredible deductions to make. Such a rule however, would not answer for Mir-Cassem-Qhan's troops, where there was not one single false muster; nor would it answer for Haider-alli's armies.

rapid marches through the hilly country. Aali-verdy-Qhan who was bent on engaging those ravages by all means, and who did not trust either the troops or the deputy he had left in his capital, decamped from Midnap8r, and came back to Bardvan: there he learned that the enemy who did not like a close engagement, and who dreaded his very name, had again retreated behind the hills westward of Moorshoodabad.

It was during this march he learned that Fahr-eddin-Hosséin-Qhan had either by the neglect or connivance of his guards, found means to effect his escape, and to make his way good to Mir-Habib and to the Marhattas; but he soon became tired of his new friends: bred with delicacy, he had never known but by hear-say what bodily pain might be; and he no sooner saw himself amongst those new friends of his with nothing but his horse for all carriage, and nothing but scanty-meals for all table, than his spirits failed: finding himself harrassed by long marches, and daily toil, he took a disgust to such a way of life, and quitted the Marhattas, to repair to Shak-Djehan-abad; where with the money and jewells which he had found means to transmit thither by the channel of some Bankers of P8rania and Maldah, some time before his captivity, he made a shift to live comfortably; but soon falling into a melancholy state of mind, that incessantly prayed upon his spirits, he departed his life and went to join his departed father.

We have left the Viceroy in full pursuit of the Marhattas, and at a loss to know where they might be. At this very conjuncture, there came a Zemindar of the hilly country, who represented "that if his highness would accept him for his guide, he knew how to carry his victorious troops, by such secret ways, as" "would enable them to surprise the Marhattas in their retreats." His proposal was accepted; and the Zemindar being ordered upon an Elephant, where he was watched, the army marched under his direction; but on the third day of the march, it was found that the Zemindar had plunged a poniard in his own bowells.

The

Strange behaviour of a Zemindar who had offered himself for a guide.

The man having been sent for, and asked the reason of his behaviour, "he answered, that having lost his way, and fearing to be punished for it, he had thought it better to make away with himself." This accident disconcerted the Viceroy, who unwilling to engage farther in an unknown uninhabited country, thought it seasonable to march back; and he returned to Bardvan, where he took up his quarters in a seat and garden, belonging to Manic-Chund, Divan to the Radja, of the country: it was in the most delightful spot which that whole tract could afford; and he intended to tarry there, untill he should receive certain intelligence about the motions and encampment of the Marhattas. It was in this seat that Mir-Djafer-Qhan, who had received orders to quit the city, where he served under the orders of the Deputy-Governor, and then to repair with his troops to camp, arrived and payed his respects to the Viceroy, who received him very ill. Since the discovery about the deficiencies in the army, he was exceedingly dissatisfied with the conduct of this officer, who had been this long while Pay-master General of the forces. The Viceroy after severely reproaching him for his shameful malversations, commanded him to dismiss his own brother Mir-Ismaïl from the office of Deputy Pay-master, and to appoint Qhadja-haddy-Qhan in his stead: the officer tergiversed, but at last was obliged to comply with the order.

In a few days intelligence came that the Marhattas had again turned towards Midnap8r; and the Viceroy, whose foremost wish was to engage those ravagers, marched thither directly, after having, as he thought, dismissed Seradj-ed-dó8la to Moorhoobabad: for it was here that this young Prince gave tokens of his impatience for reigning; and it was here he endangered his Grand-father's life by the deep impression which such a precipitancy made upon his mind.

It must be remembered that the poor man's uncle, the late Mehdi-neffar-Qhan, was a man of acknowledged merit, especially in military matters, where he was remarkable both for conduct and personal prowess: so that few men could be compared

pared to him. After he had lost his beloved master, Zin-eddin-ahmed-Qhan, by so lamentable a death, he had entertained thoughts of attaching himself to Aaly-verdi-Qhan; but finding that the Viceroy did not pay a sufficient attention to him, he resolved to push himself in the world, in whatever conjunctures time should give a rise to; or should it prove unfavorable, he was resolved to leave the world altogether, and to think only of eternity and of his salvation, since after all the end of all wordly things, is death.

Full of his plan, he attached himself to Seradj-ed-dó8lah, whose rising ambition he had guessed. But Mehdi-nessar-qhan's turn of mind had found so little favour at Court, that this officer being once in conversation with Aaly-verdi-qhan, that Prince who was a clear-sighted man, observing that he spoke with as much boldness as he acted, became desirous of parting his grand-son from such a Councillor: however it was in vain; for Mehdi-nessar-qhan, informed of this resolution, had determined to be before hand with him; and we are certain that he spoke to Seradj-ed-dó8lah in those very terms: "Your grand-father loves you so dearly, that he cannot part with you for a moment; and on the other hand, he has such a mistrust of your years, and of your rising notions about your being intitled to freedom, power, and a participation of authority, that he wishes to keep you totally ignorant of business; so that you may never pretend to dispute his will, or to aspire at that degree of independence which you are intitled to; for by the right of inheritance, as well as by your personal character for capacity, you are above all your relations, being confessedly the flower of your family, and the flambeau (*) of your grand-father's posterity; and thanks to God, you are now become a man, and have ceased to be a child. So much submission

* This was a flattering allusion to Mirza-Mehmed's principal title, which was *Seradj-ed-dó8la*, *id est* the shining taper of the Empire. His other title; (but this had been only in his childhood) was *Shah-C8li-Qhan*, the Lord soldier of the Kings.

“fion looks unbecoming at your age; and with your pretensions and rights.
 “Should you quite the camp, and repair to Azimabad, it would not prove a difficult
 “matter to pull down Djankiram, a poor gentoo, who is only your deputy, and
 “who will do as he shall be bid. After you shall have produced your person to
 “the world in that manner, your uncle shall have no other party left, but that
 “of acting inconformity to your will.”

Such a speech could not fail to make the deepest impression on such a man as Seradj-ed-dó8lah: he listened attentively to the advice, but kept it in his heart for use; and it becomes highly probable that some measures were already concerted: for Mehdy-neffar-qhan about the middle of the year 1163 resigned the service, and repaired to Moorshoodabad, from whence he continued his journey with a few friends to Azimabad; and it happened at that same time that Aali-naki-qhan, that younger brother of mine, (who am the most inconsiderable of mankind) who on some disgust had quitted Sáyd-ahmed-qhan's service at P8rania, to attach himself with a body of two hundred horses to Seradj-ed-dó8lah, now became equally disgusted with the latter, and resigned that service, resolved to repair to Azimabad likewise with intention to seek his fortune at the Imperial Court. But this resolution having greatly affected me, who then lived at P8rania, where I was greatly considered by Sáyd-ahmed-qhan, but could not bear to part with one to whom I bore so much affection; I sent for him to P8rania, and with many intreaties I engaged Sâyd-ahmed-qhan to give him service again; and that affair ended to my satisfaction. Aaly-verdy-qhan was at that time encamped at Midnap8r, where not being able to get any intelligence of the motions of the Marhattas, he had returned to his old cantonements with intention to remain there: for as the possession of the Castle of that place seemed to have been all along their main object; and Hâider-aaly-qhan, the governor of it, seemed for want of a sufficient force, incapable to preserve that strong hold from those invaders, the Viceroy resolved to pass the season in it; and having ordered that the palace and other buildings

buildings there should be put in repair and even enlarged, he sent for his veiled ones * from Moorshoodabad, and published that the army ought to provide themselves with necessaries to pass the rainy season in that neighbourhood. This order could not fail to constern both the officers and soldiers, who tired with the length of this campaign, expected to return home at the beginning of the rains: they now lost the hopes of meeting their families this year; but yet submitted to their fate, and every one commenced providing himself with a cahut, and some covering of thatch or straw. Some days passed in this manner, every one thinking they would now repose for a whole season; when at once it became known that Seradj-ed-dó8lah, after having dispatched a short note to Mehdy-neffar-qhan at Azimabad, to acquaint him with his resolution, had set out for that place, carrying no one with him, but L8tf-en-neffa †, a bond-maid of his that engrossed his affections.

Seradj-ed-dó8lah elopes and revolts.

Putting

* This is the respectfull and polite expression when a man speaks of the women of another, as well as of his own.

† This lady is now living at Moorshoodabad; and although on being surprised at Radj-mahl some years after by Mir-cassim-qhan, she was stripped of every thing, yet it is certain that she is reputed rich; and she enjoys a pension from the Nizamut, that is from those English which her lord wanted to destroy to a man. She must not be confounded with *faizy* or *faizen*, another favorite of Seradj-ed-dó8lah's. This last had been a *Kenchéni* at Dehli, that is, a dance-girl, from whence *her attendance had been supplicated* (and this was the expression used), at the Court of Moorshoodabad, the request being accompanied by no less than a draught of one lac of rupees: she was, says the amorous Chronicle, of that capital, a compleat Indian beauty: of that right golden hue, so much coveted all over that region, and of that delicacy of person, which weighs only *two and twenty seers*, or about fifty pounds averdupois: a small delicate woman with a cool retreat, being the *summum bonum* of an Indian. Now, although the women of the Prince's seraglio were kept with the most scrupulous attention, and Seradj-ed-dó8lah was the most beauteous youth of his time, yet the indian beauty fell in love with the Prince's brother-in-law, Séyd-mahmed-qhan, a very handsome man, as fair as an European, and of such a beauty of features, and stoutness of body as would have done honor to any company in that part of the world: he was introduced secretly; and two days after the matter took vent—And so Miss, Said Seradj-ed-dó8lah, *I find you are a whore*; “And why not? answered the poor woman in despair, who “at once foresaw her impending fate; that word indeed might prove a reproach to your “mother, but none to me: I am so by trade.” She was shut up in a closet, and the door was

walled-up

Putting this young lady with her mother in his own Rutt or covered carriage, he had set out for that place, being drawn by an excellent pair of those oxen that make usually thirty or forty coffes in a day †. When this intelligence was brought to the Viceroy, he was conversing with Hufflein-c8li-qhan and Hassen-reza-qhan and a few other persons of distinction. It would be difficult to describe the effect it had immediately upon him: his colour changed: his features altered: his body shook: his hands trembled; and without speaking a single word, or minding any thing else, he got up immediately, mounted his Paleki; and only with a small number of friends and servants that proved to be at hand, he advanced, like one in an alienated state of mind, as far as Divanki-Serái; and not finding his darling there, he sent some trusty persons forwards who overtook him, and made use of every motive that could bring him back. Seradj-ed-dó8lah unmoved by their entreaties, was pushing forwards at an incredible rate: letters at the same time arrived from the deputy governor of Moorhoodabad, mentioning that he had himself run after the young Prince, without being able to overtake him: but that those that had, had been received very bluntly, having had no other answer than these few words: *if you continue to run after me, I will make away with myself*: upon which the Envoys had returned much confounded at his obstinacy. On this intelligence the Viceroy seemed to lose his wonted gravity and firmness of mind; so that leaving the command of his army to Mir-djaafer-qhan and to Radja D8l8b-ram, he took only his guards with a few friends, and set out for Moorhoodabad, going at such a rate, that notwithstanding the rain, the mire and the bad roads, he

walled-up; and three months after, she was found dried up to a skeleton, but not offensive. The translator has sent to England several of her Portraits. (†) the translator has seen those oxen, for they were given two years after by Mir-djaafer-qhan to M. Wats; and he had the curiosity to measure their amazing bulk and height; he approached close to them, and endeavoured, but in vain, to reach the top of the bunch upon their shoulders with the tip of his middle finger, which fell short by full half a foot: they were of the right G8djratí breed, white as snow, and quite gentle, and had cost twelve hundred rupees the couple.

he had gained eight long stages in four days time, and was arrived at Moor-
 hoodabad, having constantly marched from morning till night: there he tarried
 only one day; and he set out the next morning for Azimabad, having first
 wrote to Seradj-ed-dó8lah in the terms of an impassionate lover, who supplicated
 the favour of his shewing once more that beloved face of his to an alienated
 old man, whose sole delight in his old age centered in that enjoyment: he added
 some reasonings to engage him to abandon his project, but it was in such a con-
 descending manner, as might not give offence. The letter was delivered to Seradj-
 ed-dó8lah at Baghalp8r; and he answered it immediately in these words: "your
 "highness, with all these demonstration of love, attention and condescendence, is
 "keeping my enemies about your person *, and raising them to high dignities
 "and eminent commands; for instance Houssein-c8ly-qhan: whilst I, whom you
 "say to be your darling, am kept without either office or employment, and am in
 "fact in a state of depression and contempt, when compard to him: the proof
 "of which is, that on my returning from Bardvan, not one man was at the trou-
 "ble of coming to my encounter to receive me. To Sáyed-ahmed-qhan P8raniah has
 "been given in full sovereignty: his brother Nevazish-mahmed-qhan is lording
 "it all over Bengal; but for me there is nothing in store, but fair words, and
 "caresses, and expressions of love; nor has any thing been done for me, that might
 "raise my character, or increase my influence, or give me some importance in the eyes
 "of my relations and friends, or in the estimation of the world; and now, that I am
 "going to take possession of my father's estate, I am, forsooth, to be cajoled out
 "my right. I advise your highness to beware of advancing farther: for the
 "consequence of a step of that nature may be such, as that your head shall fall
 "into my lap, or my own shall be made fast to your Elephant's foot." So ani-

mated

* Those enemies, that is those he held as such were Houssein-C8li-Qhan, and Bahader-Aali-Qhan, in the sequel hacked to pieces; but his great adversary was his own uncle Sáyed-Ahmed-Qhan, once Viceroy of Azimabad, and now of P8rania.

mated an answer, although given only verbally, was repeated with exactitude; and Seradj-ed-d68la having found it just, continued his flight. The answer being faithfully reported to the Viceroy, it made a most unexpected effect: he on a sudden became easy in his mind; and he betrayed several tokens of satisfaction and joy; but when the messenger came to the last part of his message, the old man broke his silence, and could not help screaming out: *my head in his lap! or at his Elephant's foot! It is the utmost wish of my heart. As to his head, how didst thou dare, you fellow, to mention it in my presence in this manner?* This said, he wrote another letter, full of the most tender expressions, and such as he thought capable of softening the young man's mind; and he sent it immediately by an express. "This letter contained the most passionate expostulations, with the humblest excuses; and it ended by a request to think better of an old man's tenderness, and more seriously of his own resolution, as well as of the erroneous conceptions he had imbibed. My dearest one, said he, you complain without real foundation; and you have erroneously conceived the very reverse of what has been all along my intention for you: hear then my humble petition: it is in these terms: *Command to my dominions, and to all the world, besides.* It is the utmost aim of my schemes, and the only scope of my fond wishes." At the bottom of the letter he added these four verses in his own hand:

"The warrior who goes alone into the field in quest of martyrdom,

"Unaware that the martyrs of the field of love suffer still more than him

"Runs the risk of hearing at the day of judgement his own condemnation in these words:

"Two lovers lie buried here, the one slain by the foe, the other killed by love."

But whilst the Viceroy was endeavouring to reclaim his Grand-son, and to write love letters, the latter was pushing forwards; and he was already arrived at Ghyâsp8r, from whence he forwarded a letter to Mehdi-neffar-Qhan, to give him notice "that trusting to his promises he had quitted the Royal state he enjoyed

" in

“ in Bengal to come so far ; and that he expected now that he would be so
 “ good as his word, and would come in the state and manner agreed between
 “ them.” It must be observed that Mehdy-neffar-Qhan had already and before
 the arrival of the letter, embarked his family and furniture in boats which he
 intended to dispatch to Ghazip8r : his intention being to exert himself to the ut-
 most, if Seradj-ed-dó8lah should come ; and if he should not, then he was re-
 solved to take his servants and friends with him and to repair to Shah-djehan-
 abad : for he doubted in his mind whether Seradj-ed-dó8lah would act up to
 what had been agreed to between them, or could undertake such a mighty enter-
 prize ; and such was he in his temper of mind, when the letter in question came
 to hand : on seeing which he sent for the poor man’s mother (a lady whom he
 considered as his own), and to whom he bore the tenderest respect, with the most
 filial attachment ; and he shewed her the letter, informing her of Seradj-ed-
 dó8lah’s arrival, and requesting her opinion. The lady astonished at what she
 heard, answered in these terms which do so much honor to her understanding ;
 “ Brother, you will never be able to cope with Aaly-verdi-Qhan : and al-
 “ though the man, who commands here, is only a Gentoo and a writer. Ne-
 “ vertheless he is his deputy ; and with the force he can muster, he will be
 “ able to reduce a hundred such ones as yourself. As to Seradj-ed-dó8lah, he
 “ is Aaly-verdy-Qhan’s grand-son ; and the grand-father is doating upon him :
 “ his coming so far will do him no great harm ; they will join again, and be-
 “ come one again, like sugar and milk that have got a slight fimmering ; nor
 “ shall you be found to have done much more than to have sought your own
 “ death to no purpose at all. Your boats are these many days ready : embark
 “ your consort and your daughter, and dispatch them immediately ; and as to your-
 “ self, get upon a fleet horse, and disappear from hence.” This was a salutary
 advice ; but Mehdy-neffar-qhan retained already by the point of honor, and con-
 trouled by the strong hand of destiny, constantly answered the entreaties of that
 sensible lady only with these words : *had not Seradj-ed-dó8lah come so far, I should*

be gone; and I was ready to go; but now that he is arrived, I cannot retreat without losing my character, and without exposing myself to the reproach of pusillanimity and ungenerousness. After such a desertion I will never be able to bear the sight of my acquaintances. As to the rest, if I am to live, and we are able to turn away this Bengally writer, Aly-verdy-qhan shall not meddle with us; nor shall dominion and sovereignty escape our hands; and if my time draws to an end, then I must submit; nor is it an unknown adage that whoever is to be buried in the morning will never sleep in his bed that evening. After having said so much, he took his final resolution, embarked his family, entrusted my mother with some jewels and some vessels of gold and silver (which he destined to his daughter), and quitting his house, he set out at the dawn of the day to meet Seradj-ed-dó8lah, whom he found at the town of Ghaya8p8r called Bar; and after a short conference he dispatched letters in his name as well as in his own to the officers and commanders residing at Deher-banga, and on the northern shore of the Ganga, inviting them under great promises to come over and join Seradj-ed-dó8lah: he wrote to some other persons likewise; and there was a probability of his being shortly at the head of an army: for letters were coming from most of them, in which they were professing their readiness to embrace his party, and announcing their departure. This much is certain, that numbers that had already marched, were obliged to go back, on hearing that Mehdy-neffar-qhan was dead, and that the undertaking had miscarried: for Mehdy-neffar-qhan had such a talent for engaging people in his interest, and such a command over the hearts of military men, that there was no doubt of his being able to get himself followed; nor do I remember to have seen or heard that he had been at any time surpassed or even equalled by any one in that important qualification. After the conference with my mother he took up his abode in Djaafer-qhan's garden, where Seradj-ed-dó8lah was already; and that spot was soon resorted to by the inhabitants of Azim-abad and all the persons of note from the neighbourhood. And now a message was sent to Djankiram, the deputy-governor, commanding his attendance: the man was stunned by the message, and he fell head long in a sea of astonishment and in certitude.

certitude. " To pay Seradj-ed-dó8lah a visit, might be found fault with by Aly-verdy-qhan, who would object that government and sovereignty did not admit of such complaisances and such submissions; and to stand upon a defence, in which Seradj-ed-dó8lah might come to any harm, would prove an irremissible crime for which no circumstances and no plea of necessity would avail with so impassionate a lover as Aly-verdy-qhan, who would not fail to put him to death: the old man's doating fondness for the young prince being of such a nature, as admitted of no regard for any thing else." At last he took to the expedient of sending a shrewd man to sound the ford; and this was Mustepha-c8ly-qhan, a brother of Seradj-ed-dó8lah's father-in-law. This nobleman was requested to examine Seradj-ed-dó8lah's disposition, and to discover what were his real intentions. Mustepha-c8ly-qhan payed his respects, and commenced discoursing on a variety of subjects. The young prince had been warned before hand by Mehdy-neffar-qhan not to speak to any of the messengers that would be sent by Djanki-ram, nor even to admit them in his presence, lest they should come to discover his real intention, and to discourage their master from coming in person. Seradj-ed-dó8lah, who both from the impatience of youth, and from natural imbecillity, was incapable of concealing a secret, disclosed it at once to Mustepha-c8ly-qhan, requesting him at the same time to bring Djanki-ram over. The Envoy, who was an able well spoken man, immediately promised to comply with his pleasure; and he was dismissed with regard and honor. By one of those strokes of destiny, it happened that when Mustepha-Qhan was introduced, Mehdy-neffar-Qhan was out, and intent upon some business: so that this nobleman whose very admission he wanted to prevent, went away quietly after a long conference. Mustepha-Qhan being gone in this manner, gave full information to Djankiram; and the latter who was preparing to wait on Seradj-ed-dó8lah, now ordered the gates of the city-walls to be shut-up; and guards to be stationed every where, whilst himself took his post in the Castle. This intelligence was no sooner brought, than Seradj-ed-dó8lah, who was

in-

incapable of dissembling or of containing himself, wanted to set out immediately, to get the gates opened and to rub that Gentoo's ears (for such was his expression;) being abundantly confident that no one would dare to fire at him, or even to touch his person. Mehdy-neffar-Qhan represented, "that gates were not to be opened in that manner; nor fortresses to be taken by sixty or seventy men; and that the whole depended on his taking patience a few days more, when he would have an army at his command." This rational observation served only to precipitate matters: that foolish young man, who had no discernment enough to distinguish between a proper and an improper moment, and betwixt good and bad advice, answered bluntly: *It is upon your words and your promises I have parted with an Empire, or at least with the Royal state I enjoyed, and am come so far; and you want now to skulk from a little fighting?* Mehdy-neffar-Qhan, who had never been of such a temper, as to put up with reproaches in that style, replied with warmth, and spoke in these words: "Had you listened to sober counsel, you would not have admitted into your presence people that came to sound your intentions; nor would you have all at once informed them of your secrets: now informed they are: the game has escaped out of your net, and has escaped, because you have opened the net yourself: the gentoo is now put upon his guard: and now after all that, you with only these sixty or seventy men that are about your person (all of whom surely cannot be men of valor and capacity), you want no less than to take Castles, and to conquer provinces? Absurd! In two or three days, at most, numerous troops will be flocking to you from all parts, and then it will be time to think of bringing this affair to the conclusion which you wish." To all this that ignorant imprudent young man answered nothing, but the very words he had already uttered; and Mehdy-neffar-Qhan unwilling to retreat on one hand, and convinced on the other that matters were taking a desperate turn, at once took his resolution and resolved to die. Accordingly he put some affairs in order, passed the whole night in prayers and in recommending himself to the divine mercy; and

and at day break he displayed the standard of prowess: so that at the head of his sixty men, he advanced to take the fortrefs of Azimabad. This event happened at the end of Redjeb, or in the beginning of Shaaban in the year 1163 of the Hedjra. This handful of men was then at the eastern gate; and as the wall of that part appeared steep, and thronged with armed men, he, underpretence of going to visit the monument of his dear master Zin-eddin-Ahmed Qhan, mounted the young prince upon his own horse, and advanced thither on foot, inclining towards a small gate that goes by the name of the *wicket of the Begum's quarters*; But as that part, although somewhat lower, was likewise found guarded by armed men, especially by those commanded by the gentoo Mehta-Djesvent-Nagur, a relation of Radja Dia-Bahadyr, an engagement took place, and a firing commenced from the wall. Mehdy-neffar-Qhan having placed Seradj-ed-dó8lah with a few men in a particular spot at the foot of the rampart, where he was under cover and safe, went himself with the rest, and proceeded still by the foot of the wall, looking out for some easier ascent*; and having found one at last, he got over it with most of his men slightly wounded, and even with an arrow lodged in his own arm. Some others, like Emanet-Qhan, with a few more, got in by a water-course, that had been enlarged by the rain; and having opened the gate from within, they introduced Seradj-ed-dó8lah with the few men that were with him; so that this particular part of the City-wall was evacuated by the garrison; and the way into the City was left open and free. Mehdy-neffar-Qhan with a Djma upon his person, and a sabre in his hand, was advancing on foot in a menacing posture at the head of his friends, who were followed by Seradj-ed-dó8lah mounted upon Mehdy-neffar-Qhan's horse; nor did he meet with any obstruction in his way, until he found himself at the gate of my mother's apartment,

Strange attack
on the City of
Azimabad by
sixty men.

* It must be observed that the wall being only of earth, and the immense rains that fall every year having greatly damaged it in a country, where they never think of repairs, but at the last extremity, it was no very difficult matter to find some easy ascent.

ment, over against Hadji-gundj, betwixt which and the Begum's quarter, the ground is full of houses: there Djankiram made his appearance with all the apparatus of war: he was mounted on his Elephant, preceded by some field-pieces and rockets and a large number of men: but notwithstanding that appearance of firmness, he looked like one amazed and confounded, and in dread of what might happen. Hassen-aaly-Qhan with his body of troops preceded him; and the two parties meet about the chock or market-place, facing the castle gate: his people could not amount to less than four thousand men, besides the garrison spread upon the walls. On sight of this, Emanet-Qhan, one of Mehdy-neffar-qhan's friends and followers, a man of great courage and prowess, brandished his spear, and spurring his horse, he threw himself amongst those that followed Hossen-aaly-qhan, and had formed a line extending southwards betwixt the Castle-gate and the market place. But not one of those men had the courage to face that warrior: they all gave way at once; and skulking in the shops, and behind the stalls, they were firing upon him from under cover. The man like a courageous lion, that has got amongst a herd of timourous deer, was now falling upon one, and then rushing upon another; until some one getting upon the top of a house, or into some other lofty part, took aim leisurely, and shot him in the head; and that brave man falling from his horse, spent his life honourably in the field of braves. Just at this time Mehdy-neffar-qhan was advancing still at the head of his small troop; and numbers of the enemy, who knew him personally, were calling out to him, to have pity on himself, and to forbear advancing: some of his people were making the same entreaties: but these words served only to raise his anger; and turning to these latter, he answered: *these words of your's do not suit my circumstances at present: let any one of you who loves me better than he does himself, step forth and march before me.* It must be observed that whilst Emanet-qhan was engaged, Mirza-medar-begh the decanian, seeing his friend's danger, called out to his two sons and to his son-in-law, to follow him; and spurring his horse directly, he advanced to his assistance with two or three more: but before
he

he could come up, Emanet-qhan was already slain,---and himself after having done much execution both with his spear and then with his sabre, was shot dead from a house; so that his sons and son-in-law seeing him fall, fled from that scene of slaughter; but having in their flight mixed with the few that were with Mehdy-neffar-qhan, they bore down their ranks, and communicated their own fear's: so that these also commenced skulking about and dispersing. As the street was narrow, and it could not hold more than six horses in front, the five or six run aways, by running full speed amongst them, made them give away; and some of these availed themselves of the shelter afforded by houses and shops. Mehdy-neffar-qhan being then close to the Cotval's Chabotra or tribunal, got in a shop; and as soon as the runaways were gone, he came out again, with his sabre in his hand, and continued advancing; but by this time one half of his followers had disappeared; and the rest hisheartened by the flight of Medar-beg's son's, and by the desertion it had occasioned, were hardly to be kept together, and they often turned about to look behind: at the heels of the runaways, arrived Mehta-djesvent-nagur, armed and quilted*; and as he knew Mehdy-neffar-qhan personally, he called out to him: "My Lord-Qhan, you have got over the wall at the spot where I commanded, and have of course occasioned a stain upon my character: but still you are my acquaintance and friend: why do you expose yourself in such a manner? it is not too late yet to be gone: for god's sake, be gone directly, and live." These words seemed to excite both a smile and some peevishness in Mehdy-neffar-qhan: he answered with

A singular
combat between
two Noblemen
equally stout &
brave.

* Military men in India, that is as many as can afford it, or are willing, wear a variety of cuirasses, of cotton, raw-silk, and also of steel (these last are of made up of four pieces sliding upon each thero.) But common soldiers wear an ample surcoat thick quilted with cotton, that descends as far as the knees. These coats deaden the stroke of a sabre, embarrass the point of an arrow; and above all keep the body cool, by intercepting the intenseness of the rays of the sun, which then diverge, and cease to burn and to enflame.

with warmth: *pray, what do you mean Mr. Mehta by such consels, and so much care of me at this time? You and I are now foes to one another:* after having said so much with a deal of warmth, he recollected himself, and added these two verses of the poet:

“Stand forth now with whatever thou canst muster of manlyness and courage:”

“Brandish thy sabre, thy poniard, thy battle axe and thy spear!”

This answer overcame Mehta-djesvent's reluctance. He bore in the world a great character for both valor and bodily strength; and finding himself challenged, and his character at stake, he was against his own inclination, obliged to stand forth; but however, to bring matters upon a par, he quitted his horse and spear, advanced on foot, and engaged. Mehdy-neffar-Qhan on seeing him within reach, gave him a violent stroke on the neck, which was parryed only in part; and this was the time to finish him with another stroke; but his vigor was supported by none of his people; else, it is indubitable that had Djesvent-nagur been slain, the enemies would have been struck with terror, as they were already looking behind; nor had Mehdy-neffar-Qhan's people any thing more to do than to move to his assistance: in which case there is no doubt but the enemy would have given way. But none moved: so far were they from such an exertion, that whilst Mehdy-neffar-Qhan was actually engaged, he was observed to look-back, and to say *such a one, I did not expect that from thee.* Whilst the two combatants were advancing against each other, (and this was close to a spot called the Hadji's corner), one Mir-Ashruff, an officer of note and a great friend of Mehta-djesvent's, came out of a door close to Mehdy-neffar-Qhan's left, and he called out to that hero, advising him to retire. The other having not only answered in an angry tone and with foul language, but also forbidden his to coming near, if he valued his own life, the man shocked at the tone and expression, fell back a little; and taking a circuit, he came suddenly behind, and gave that

hero

hero a back stroke of his sabre upon both legs, which threw him on the ground; and then only that heroical man, whose head deserved a Crown, then only was he finished by Mehta-djesvent. On sight of this, Seradj-ed-dó8lah, who was a rank coward, turned bridle and fled full speed, taking to the street that lead to Mustapha-c8ly-Qhan's lodgings; and his people at the same time sheltered themselves, every one into some corner. At a little distance behind Mehdy-neffar-Qhan, fell two or three persons, much wounded with musquet balls, amongst which was one Mirza Sanghy, a descendant of one of the saints revered by Séif-Qhan; and he accompanied that brave man into the regions of eternity. Mehta-djesvent, although much wounded and with the blood streaming from his cheek and neck, accompanied rather than pursued Seradj-ed-dó8lah to Mustepha-C8ly-Qhan's lodgings, being fearful of Aly-verdy-Qhan's resentment; and this nobleman hearing of the Prince's coming, advanced on foot out of his gate, and received him with great respect, sparing nothing either in personal attendance or in any thing else, that might render his abode agreeable: So that Mehta-Djesvent having seen the Prince safe, recommended him to the Qhan, and returned to his lodgings. As to Mehdy-neffar-Qhan's body, now lying lifeless, Djanki-Ram had the meanness to order that high born head of his to be severed from the body, and the latter to be hung at the eastern gate; but on a representation from some officers of his own troops, he gave leave for its been taken down, and then purified, and inhumed with the accustomed rites and decency. The valorous and unfortunate Séyd was buried in his glorious father's monument, which is in a corner of Lon-gola, where also they buried, but without the monument, the few men that had fallen by his side.

Verse: "Such is the end of every thing in this world: such it is."

May God Almighty's forgiveness rest upon him! and may he have obtained a place amongst his pious and intrepide ancestor's! Amen. Djanki-Ram having
seen

seen Mehdy-neffar-Qhan dead, and heard that Seradj-ed-dó8lah was safe, thought he had come in the world a second time; and like one that had recovered a new life, he went into the castle, and there sat in all the pride of success and self-applause.

Whilst all this was happening at Azimabad, Aly-verdy-Qhan was arriving about Bar, all the while in the most excruciating fears about what might have befallen the object of his love. He had made haste with all the impatience of an impassionate lover; and his heart fluttered, like a moth at the near approach of the flame emitted by that beautiful face of his beloved one. Arrived at Bar, he learned what had happened; and now commencing to respire with freedom, he sent Seradj-ed-dó8lah a message full of love and tenderness. This was carried by Séyd-afed-ollah-Qhan, a nobleman of consequence, who had accompanied the Viceroy in this voyage. The Qhan who was a man of sense, executed his commission in a manner that soothed and gained Seradj-ed-dó8lah's mind, hitherto much alienated from his uncle; and the young prince expressed a desire of seeing his venerable Ancestor: the intelligence overpowered the old man; on hearing that his darling had set out on his journey, he lost his usual temper of mind, and betrayed all the levity of the most youthful joy and the most unruly exultation; and matters came so far that this mountain of seriousness and gravity became as light and as unsteady as a feather exposed to the wind: so that he betrayed such signs of restlessness, as surprised every one of those that knew him this long while. He was endlessly speaking of his beloved; *and where he might be now; and how far he might have advanced this evening; and where he might be to-morrow;* nor was any thing else to be had from his mouth. But when he heard that the young man was arriving, his exultation over-leapt all bounds: unable to contain himself any more, he ordered the wall of his tent-yard to be thrown down, that he might descry from a far the object of his love; and as soon as he saw his paleky set down, he prostrated himself on the ground, to acknowledge

his

Aly-verdy-
Qhan recovers
his fever and
then falls dan-
gerously ill.

his arrival as a special favour from the Almighty. Seradj-ed-dó8lah having drawn near, alighted, and marching with a quick pace*, he hastened to throw himself at his grand-father's feet. The old man threw both his arms round his neck, and drawing him to his bosom, he kept him close to it for a length of time with all the emotions of the most enthusiastic tenderness; after which he prostrated himself again and returned a long thanksgiving for so signal a benefit. A moment after he made him mount with him, and proceeded to the city of Azimabad, where amongst throngs of a multitude that loved his person, and were attached to his family, he alighted at one of those buildings raised by Seradj-ed-dó8lah's father, on the shore of the Ganga, and he sat on a mehed there, giving audience to all comers. But as Seradj-ed-dó8lah continued in censed against Djanki-ram for what he called his boldness, and for what the other had been forced to by the duties of his station, Aly-verdy-qhan himself took the part of an intercessor, and sent him to the young prince, with injunctions to implore his forgiveness. The young prince out of regard to his grand-father's intercession, received him with condescendence, and dismissed him with honour. This reconciliation having pacified every one; and there appearing no reason in the world for tarrying in those parts; the Viceroy, whose thoughts were now engrossed by his army, which he had left at Midnap8r, under generals which he did not trust, resolved to return immediately; and he therefore sent for Djanki-ram, gave him a drefs of confirmation, and taking Seradj-ed-dó8lah with him, he set out for Moorshoodabad. But the old man who had hitherto been a prey to all the agitations of a distracted mind, was now seized by a hot fever, which in a few days rose to an alarming heighth; nor was there in those parts any other phyfician of character, but Doctor Tadj-eddin who immediately received orders to accompany him; and he did not spare his care and attendance.

Aly-

* Gravity before one's fovereign and lord would be deemed indecent in the tartarian notions which the Mogols have imported into India; and to day no man can approach the Turkish Emperor, but with a brisk pace, and also in boots, so as to appear his soldier.

Aly-verdy-qhan impatient to reach the end of his journey, was hastening down the river by boat; but as none was so well acquainted with his constitution as the honourable, the illustrious and respectable Doctor Hadi-qhan the Hashemite, neveu to that seal and complement of Doctors, the reservoir of physicial and philosophical learning, the Galen of his time, Doctor Oluvi-qhan; he sent a trusty person to request his attendance; and that illustrious Qhan having immediately set out, overtook his noble patient at Radjemahl, where he so seduoussly applied all the strength of his art to that important cure, that he prevented the fever from doing more mischief, and kept it under controul: in so much that the Viceroy arrived at his palace in the heigth of his distemper. But such was his confidence in his physician Haddy-aly-qhan, that he left entirely in his disposal every thing that could pertain to the use of simples or compounds, resolved to do nothing without consulting him: and it must be acknowledged that this Plato of his time was endowed with a breath as healing as that of the Messiah*; And had not his equal in the art of administering remedies and restoring health. In a little time the prince's distemper took to its decline, and he recovered a pace. After his recovery, that lover of learning and that rewarder of merit honoured the illustrious Qhan with a Qhylaat of the first rank, a Serpich and a Djica of jewels; an Elephant of surprising bigness, mounted with his Hãodah; and a sum of five thousand rupees: from that period, he made it a point to rise and stand-up on his coming to see him; and not satisfied with that mark of respect, he conferred upon him several honorific distinctions of the highest kind; and moreover ordered that he should ride in Paleky in any part of the palace, without alighting any where, but close to the rails of the Terrasse adjoining the hall of audience: a distinction granted to none but to his two sons-in-law, and to Seradj-ed-dó8lah, his grand-son; and these three princes also were ordered to stand-up for him

* The Mahometans have such a high opinion of Jesus Christ, whom they believe to have preached nothing else but pure mussulmanism, that they say that dead corpses that happened to be within reach of his breath, at once rose into existence and received life again.

him. Aly-verdy-Qhan, on the day he was permitted to bathe *, ordered sums of money to be distributed to Séyds and to necessitous families of all sorts; and although the rains were not drawing to their end, and he had no apprehension of any incursion or ravage from the Marhattas; nevertheless, as his body continued for a long time in a state of great weakness, he wrote to Radja D8l8bram, and to Mir-Djaafer-Qhan to inform them that at the end of the rains, the victorious standards would not fail to take the road of Midnap8r.

Sáy-d-ahmed-Qhan, the governor of P8raniah had received from the Viceroy an invitation to meet him on the road; and he had therefore come down as far as Carangola, where he had prepared a set of magnificent tents, and a sumptuous entertainment for his noble visitor; he also sent me, the poor man, some coffes beyond Carangolah, to receive that prince on the southern shore of the Ganga; but on hearing that he had excused himself on account of his illness, and that he had continued his route to Moorshoodabad by the middle of the stream, without touching at either shore, he dispatched his own physician, Mir-mahmed-messih, to attend him; and himself followed immediately; but at his arrival at Moorshoodabad he found his task changed into felicitations for the recovery of that precious health: he therefore kissed his grand father's feet, venerated his glorious face, and returned his acknowledgements to heaven for so important a recovery. This unexpected visit furnished Nefissa-begum, mother to the late Nawab Ser-effraz-Qhan with an opportunity of promoting a scheme which she had much at heart. This princess, who had been taken into Nevazish-ahmed-qhan's family, where he had given her such a full command over his whole household,

* It is incredible, but true that Physicians in India never suffered their patients to shift, and clean themselves, but when they have totally overcome their distemper: a practice that cannot fail to destroy an infinity of people.

hold, that his consort herself, although daughter to Aly-verdy-qhan, (it was Mehr-En-Nessa-begum, better known by the name of Gahaffity-bibi), payed her the utmost deference; and both husband and consort were vying with each other in soothing her grief by every demonstration of respect and attention. Nefissa-begum had adopted as her son, a boy born to Ser-effraz-qhan the very day he was slain at the battle of Gheriah: his name was Aga-baba; and he had become the darling of her heart, and the consolation of her old age. She intended to marry him to one of the daughters of Sáy-d-Ahmed-qhan, to whom she sent a message by Bibi Gahaffity herself. The prince declined the match at first; but overcome by the vivacity of her entreaties, and by those of her husband's, he gave his consent. But as such a match could not be celebrated properly on the part of Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan, without assembling his whole family, parentage and kindred, at the head of which was Aly-verdy-qhan himself; and decency required that the family, parentage and kindred of the late Ser-effraz-qhan should not be forgotten; it became probable that all that multitude would not chuse to repair to P8raniah; and of course it seemed expedient to celebrate the nuptials at Moorshoodabad, where Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan promised to return for that ceremony, as soon as he should have finished his preparatives at P8raniah, whither he was going for that purpose. In a few days he set out accordingly, loaded with presents and caresses from his father-in-law, with which he returned to his capital, where we shall leave him at present to finish his preparatives, as the conclusion of this affair shall find its place in the sequel, and we must now revert to the affairs of war.

The troops left at Midnap8r under command of Radja D8l8b-ram and Mir-djaafer-qhan, were numerous and sufficient to fight the Marhattas, and to drive them not only from Balasser, but from the whole O8ressa: nevertheless such was the slender opinion entertained of the abilities of the one commander, and the doubts conceived of the courage of the other; and such was the damp thrown upon the spirits of the army by the very report of their invincible master's illness, that this same army was

now

now thought unequal to the task; and although circular letters had been sent every where to announce his recovery, still they were thought both by friends and foes to be no better than so many contrivances, and so many strokes of policy to conceal the real state of things. It was from such a cause that the troops could not be brought to face the enemy with their wonted alacrity; and the same cause had rendered bolder and adventurous an enemy, who ascribed this backwardness to some other origin. Such a state of things rendered Aly-verdy-qhan still more anxious to make his appearance in the field. Weack therefore, as he was yet, and feeling still the remains of his illness, he put himself with the head of a numerous body and marched to Midnap8r: whilst Radja D8l8bram and Mir-djaaser-qhan advanced from that town to meet their lord in the plain of Bardvan, where they had the honor to kiss his feet. It was in the year 1164. And as the Marhattas on the strength of Aly-verdy-qhan's illness, had advanced to Midnap8r, that Prince who always wished for an opportunity to engage them, marched up to them, and the two armies meeting, an engagement took place; when the enemies, according to their rooted custom, fled and left the Prince master of the field of battle. The free-booters unable to stand the brunt of troops accustomed to break their ranks, took to flight; and taking a circuit, they retired into the hills and woody countries that stretch along the west of Bengal. The Viceroy pursued; but as soon as he had approached near enough to come to blows, they fled again, still pursued and still flying; nor did the Bengal army afford them time to take breath, or to stand a while: at last the Marhattas tired with so obstinate a pursuit, faced about, and returned into the O8ressa by the country behind the hills; whilst Aly-verdy-qhan, disappointed in his pursuit, but resolved to root them out of the country, postponed his expedition to the next year, and with his victorious troops took the road to Moorshoodabad, and encamped at Catwa.

This retreat afforded Mir-habib and the Marhatta generals leisure to consult together on the state of things; so as to be weary of a warfare that had lasted
already

The Viceroy again at the head of his troops forces, the Marhattas to a retreat.

already so many years without producing for them any thing but continual toil and
 endless losses: " they observed that it had served only to inure Aly-verdy-Qhan's
 " troops to hardships and to victory; and at last they concluded that instead spend-
 " ding their strength in such fruitless campaigns, it was better to come to some
 " terms with the enemy: and as on the other hand giving up totally their pre-
 " tensions on the O8ressa, and abstaining totally from their views upon Bengal, seem-
 " ed dishonourable to Rhagodji-bhoselah's dignity, it was thought proper to submit the
 " matter to Aly-verdy-qhan himself, under certain conditions." In consequence
 of this resolution Mir-habib sent some trusty persons with a message to Mir-djaaser-
 qhan, who transmitted the same to court in a proper style and at a proper moment.
 The Viceroy, accustomed to success and victory, thought it hard to admit such con-
 ditions, but yet he submitted to them on a variety of reasons: " the declension of his
 " health, and the necessity of consulting above all the ease and tranquillity of his
 " dominions, required such a sacrifice at his hands: he considered that he was now
 " in the seventy-fifth year of his age, broken with the fatigues of ten repeated
 " campaigns against the Marhaitas, in which time he had also fought mighty battles
 " with Mustepha-qhan, with Shimshir-qhan, and with some other Afghan commanders,
 " whose vanquished troops had only served to encrease the number of his enemies:
 " that this latter by a warfare which consisted in avoiding all decisive en-
 " gagements, and in burning the villages, spoiling the harvest, and slaughtering the
 " husband-men, had contrived a way of managing so, as to render his very victories
 " equal to so many defeats: lastly, the inhabitants of the south of the Ganga, ex-
 " hausted with eternal ravages, and yearly migrations, panted after some release
 " from their toils, and wished to live henceforward in safety, and in a freedom
 " from endless apprehensions in their homes." To all these motives may
 be added that his own inclination was now for peace: he pronounced a sentence
 of the Coran relative to the subject, and wrote to Mir-djaaser-qhan, giving him leave
 " to send some trusty persons to Mir-habib's camp; and he agreed that should any
 " man of sense and character come from that general with such proposals as
 would

The two parties
 tired of a twelve
 years war.

" would be found admissible, they would be listened to; or else, the envoy would " have leave to return in all safety." In consequence of this consent, Mir-Djaafer-Qhan returned Mir-Habib's envoys in company with two others of his own, namely Mir-Haffen-Aaly and Mir-Gho8fs-Aaly. These two gentlemen informed Mir-Habib that Aaly-verdy-Qhan consented to listen to an agreement; and that it was now his part to pitch upon a proper personage for treating properly of an affair of that moment. Mir-habib, who did not expect so much condescendence, no sooner heard of this intelligence, which he thought to be an unexpected piece of good luck for him, than he acknowledged it to be now incumbent upon him to carry on his shoulders the trappings of obedience and submission to Aly-verdy-qhan, and to approve himself submissive to his commands. Pleased with this overture, he appointed Mirza-Saleh, a gentleman of character, to accompany Mir-djaafer-Qhan's two envoys; and he gave him order to avail himself of that nobleman's mediation, to gain access to the Viceroy's presence: the envoy had orders to profess " his master's submission to his highness his commands, and his firm resolution henceforwards to be obedient to whatever " he should be pleased to prescribe." The envoy having been introduced by Mir-djaafer-Qhan, whilst the Viceroy was encamped at Catwa, had the honor to pay his respects, and to follow his stirrup, that unerring guide to success and victory; and it was in his retinue he arrived at Moorhoodabad.

Aly-verdy-Qhan being now arrived in his capital, received a respectful letter from Mirza-saleh where it was set forth that his master was now all submission to his commands; having taken a sincere resolution to approve himself henceforward his obedient servant. Some time having been spent in questions and answers, in a few days the treaty of peace was concluded; and it was on the following terms:

" That Mir-habib, deemed henceforward to be in the service of the Majestu-

" ous

ous in battles, should be invested by him with the honorable office of deputy to his highness in the Nizamet or military government of the Province of O8reffa: that as deputy-governor, he should receive orders to appropriate the revenues of that province to the payment of the arrears due to Rhago-dji-bhoslah's troops: that over and above that assignment, the sum of twelve lacs of Rupees should be payed to Rhago-dji's agents yearly, under condition that the Marhattas would never set their foot again within the dominions of his highness:" Lastly, "That the Mootufuddies and the accomptant-office of Bengal, would pay yearly the above sum:"

"That the river Sonamakia, which runs by Baliffer-bender, should henceforward be reputed to be the wall and boundary betwixt the two dominions, and that the Marhatta armies would never offer to cross it, or to put a foot in its waters."

These conditions having been notified to Mir-Habib, were accepted by that General, who sent a paper under his hand and seal in the form of an obligation, to Aly-verdy-Qhan; and the negotiation being now concluded, the envoy Mirza-faleh was honored with the appellation of Musaleh-eddin-mahmed-qhan*, decorated with many favors; and dismissed with the patent of the treaty, and with an Elephant, a Qhylaot of investiture, and several other presents for his master.

This treaty of peace restored tranquillity and security to all the campaigns in Bengal; and as no apprehension remained of any invader, or of any commotion

* This expression may be rendered by the words *composer of the troubles of Religion*, or by those of the *Lord-negotiator of the Law*.

motion from abroad, Aly-very-Qhan made a great reduction in his army; and then turned his views entirely towards rebuilding villages, tilling abandoned lands, cherishing the husband man, and recalling to their homes the inhabitants of an infinity of towns, plundered and ruined by the Marhattas: he made the ease of the people as well as of the nobility the foremost care of his mind; and as henceforward the town and province of Midnap8r were to belong to Bengal, he appointed to the Fojdary of the castle and province Radja-ram-sing, who had been hitherto the commander of the body of spies in his service: an office in which Ram-sing was succeeded by his brother Naráin-sing.

It was about this time that Rabiah-Begum *, daughter to Hadji-ahmed, and consort to Ata-ollah-Qhan, made her appearance in Bengal: this Princess on her husband's being banished from Aly-verdy-Qhan's dominions, had thought proper to follow her lord's fortunes as far as Lucnow; but the latter having been slain in a battle in which he fought for Nevol-ráy against Amed-Qhan-Bangash, the Princess availed herself so well of her being a niece to Aly-verdy-Qhan; and she placed so appositely several rich presents, which she distributed to the grandees of Lucnow, and to the Zemindars of those parts; that she found mean's to retreat from that dangerous country, and to repair to Azimabad with all her fortune, riches, furniture, children, family and dependants, great and small: from Azimabad she went down to Moorshoodabad, where she took-up her abode under the shade of Aly-verdy-Qhan, her glorious uncle's protection. It was about this time also

* This Princess was sister of Amnah-begum, (mother to Seradj-ed-dó8lah), and also of Gahafity-bibi, consort to Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, nephew and son-in-law to Aly-verdy-qhan. Rabiah-begum was likewise mother to Banni-begum, deceased some years ago: all names celebrated in the amorous chronicle of Moorshoodabad, for an infinity of curious adventures that need only a Chaucer, or a la-fontaine, or a Bocace. In general the three daughters of Aly-verdy-qhan, as well as their female posterity, have been lewd to a proverb.

also that Bir8-dutt, superintendant of the finances of Bengal, coming to die of an hydropisy, his deputy Omid-ráy, without being appointed Divan himself, was ordered to attend to the duties of that high office, until Radja-Kyret-chund, son to the Ráy-Ráyan Aalum-chund, who had been at the head of the Qhaliffah-office in Shudjah-Qhan's government, should himself arrive, and take possession of that charge: this Radja Kyret-chund, having some knowledge of grammer and syntaxe, wrote the Persian more correctly and more elegantly than usually falls to the lot of Gentoos; and he had for some time been Divan or Prime Minister to Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan at Azimabad, as we have already mentioned in the foregoing pages. After his Master's death, he attached himself to Ata-ollah-qhan, whom he served as his Divan, and from whom he parted at Banarefs, where he remained: from thence he was invited over by several civil letters which Aly-verdy-qhan wrote him, as an acknowledgment for his having conveyed to him certain important information, relative to the finances. Being arrived, he was received with distinction, honoured with a rich Qhylaát in investiture of the Divanship of all Bengal, and at once put in possession of that office, where he thought proper to continue Omid-ráy, as his deputy. Kyret-chund being son to a minister who had long been at the head of all the accounts of Bengal, and was therefore furnished with many important papers, soon found means to prove undeniable balances against several Zemindars, and some other persons of high rank, but chiefly against Djagat-seat and the Radja of Bardvan: these were all confessed; and the whole, amounting to one Coror and some lacs, was payed into Aly-verdy-qhan's treasury; to the discoverer's great credit, and to his master's great satisfaction: who henceforward reposed an unbounded confidence in him. The new minister shone in the full zenit of power and influence for two full years, after which falling sick of an Hemorrhoidal distemper, he quitted this life of strife and contention, and departed to the other world. On his death-bed he recommended Omid-ráy for his successor; and as this man bore a good character, and had already acted as deputy for a length of years, he was honoured with a Qhylaát, decorated with the title of Ray-ráyan, and appointed head of the Qhaliffah or accomptant General's Office.

An immense
but glance long
forgotten, re-
vered for trea-
sury by a Gen-
too minister.

To

To these two deaths, we must join that of Mir-habib's, who being now invested with the supreme command in O8ressa, came to have it in his option whether he should dismiss or keep that multitude of Afghans which were in the Marhatta service; for such of the national troops as were left in O8ressa, were under the immediate command of an officer, related to Rhagodji, but who was under Mir-habib's orders, and could do nothing without directions from him. That general, who had the whole management of the money arising from the revenues of that province, and the disposal of the twelve lacs received from Bengal, used to set a part some of those monies for discharging the arrears due to his Afghans, and transmitted the other part to the treasury of Nàigp8r; so that for a year and some months he passed his days agreeably at Catec. But at the end of that time, Djanodji, elder son of Rhago-dji-bo1ah, having been sent to Catec, invested with the office of deputy to his father, and of commander in chief of all the Marhatta forces kept on foot for the defence of the Province, fortune turned her back upon Mir-habib. As there were numbers of persons jealous of his great power, and the M8teffedies or men of office, especially could not bear that general's strictness of command, and his imperiousness of temper, they incensed the young Djanodji's mind against him. The young prince, who presumed much upon his own opinions, and did not always pay an implicate obedience even to his father's commands, ordered Mir-habib to render his accounts: he sent for that general, made him over to the accomptant's office; and that old soldier who had commanded during his whole life, was now obliged to pass the whole day in hearing questions and giving answers. Unfortunately for him, his troops were at some distance from the Marhatta camp, where he actually was; and, what proved still more unlucky, most of the people that had come in his retinue, being tired with the length of the sitting, had gone about their private business: so that in the evening there remained but few of his people to attend his person. Djanodji seeing this, retired under pretence of

performing his devotions, and left the Banglaw * empty, where the Marhatta soldiers and officers immediately crowded, and sent the general word, that unless he gave an account of the monies which he had received, and unless he left a bond under his hand for the balances which he had appropriated to himself, he would not have leave to depart. The general who trusted to his long and meritorious services, and to his high influence with Rhago-dji, made cheap of Djanodji's order; and he wanted to get away with the few people about him, sensible that as soon as he should have escaped to his own camp, no one would think of getting him from thence: but although he brought a variety of excuses, he could not extricate himself out of the claws of his destiny. It was now midnight; and the general convinced that words and reasons would be of no avail, put on his cloths; and with his sabre in his hand (this being now the only weapon left in his power), he exhorted the forty or fifty men that were with him, to fight manfully, and to cut their way through the enemy: for he had concluded that without an express order from the young prince's father, matters would have not been carried so far with him. The Marhatta troopers, encamped round his Banglaw, formed an opposition to his retreat: a dispute ensued; and both parties proceeding to blows, Mir-Habib, who was on foot and unarmed, and had but a handful of men, was slain as he was pushing forward with ardor; and every one of his followers was either killed or disabled. A few that remained alive, although grievously wounded, were made prisoners. Such a fatal event having soon come to Rhago-dji's knowledge, could not fail highly to incense that Prince against his son, but it was too late; and the unfortunate Mir-habib, after so many years of toil and expectation, was snatched from the world, at the very time he was preparing to eat some of the fruits of that tree which he had planted with so many pains and dangers. Doubtless so untimely a fate had been ordered by

* A Banglaw is a building occasionally run-up with bamboos, matts, and thatch; and this in a country blessed every where with that most useful of all reeds; the bamboo, or as the natives call it *Bahans*, is easily done in few days. But there are Banglows worth ten thousand rupees.

by providence in compensation for the many families he had ruined in his wars, and the many houses he had destroyed in his incursions: in one word for the many violences he had been exercising all over Bengal by himself or by others these ten years past: he fell, without having yet tasted of the fruit of enjoyment, and irrevocably lost in an instant the hopes of a whole life of toil and fatigue. After his death, Mirza-faleh, the late negotiator of the peace, received the investiture of the government of O8ressa both from Aly-verdy-Qhan and from Rhago-dji: he received a double Qhylaát, and passed his time quietly enough; but far however from shewing that firmness of command, and that authority of person, so conspicuous in Mir-hadib. Nevertheless he made a shift to go on with a difficult administration, where he was obliged alternately to employ threats and dissimulation and forbearance; but in either case however he reckoned himself totally dependent of the government of Náigp8r, without the least deference to that of Bengal.

This year likewise, and it was at the end of 1165, or at the beginning of the next, Radja Djankiram, the deputy-governor of Azimabad, departed this life, and was succeeded by another Gentoo, Radja Ram-narán, son to Reng-laál. This latter gentleman had been from his very youth bred in Aly-verdy-qhan's family, where he had been first secretary to Zin-ed-din-ahmed-qhan at the very beginning of his administration: from thence he was appointed *Pish-car* or precursor or deputy to the Divan of prime minister of Bahar; and in Djankiram's time he rose so high, as to be promoted himself to that high office, in which he exhibited so many abilities in clearing up the accounts of finances, and so much fidelity in managing its receipts and expenditures, that he came to be worthy of no less a station than that of deputy-governor of the Province of Azimabad. He received the investiture of it in a rich Qhylaát, to which was added a serpich, a sabre, and an Elephant. This promotion of a Gentoo was followed by another: It was that of Radja D8l8bram, who

who in Djankiram, his father's time, had been deputy-divan of the musters at Moorshoodabad, and was reputed one of the trustiest men in Aly-verdy-qhan's service. On his father's death, he received with each of his three brothers a Qhylaat of mourning; and in a few days more he received another that appointed him Divan of the musters in his own sole name; and as he had given the world a great opinion of his abilities and integrity, he was desired by Radja Ram-narain to act as his agent-general at the Court of Moorshoodabad, and to transact there for him every business that might require a question or an answer, or any other discussion about whatever concerned the administration of Azimabad.

Aly-verdy-Qhan, now fully employed in pacific occupations that tended to promote the welfare of his people, passed his days pleasantly but regularly. Every day of the week was appointed for some particular business, or some particular object, never to be interfered by any other: a distribution of time which he had always affected, and which greatly contributed to dispatch and regularity. In the winter season he used to repair to Radj-mahl, where he enjoyed the pleasures of hunting the stag and the tyger: (a diversion of which he was particularly fond) and after having spent his mornings in it, he amused himself with animals fighting together, such as cocks of Decan, and of Elephants. At these hunting parties he was always accompanied by his second nephew and son-in-law, Sayd-mahmed qhan, who never failed at such times to come down from P8raniah, and some times dutifully accompanied his uncle as far as Moorshoodabad, where he took that opportunity to make a visit to his elder brother, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, as well as to the consort and three sons of his younger brother, the unfortunate Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan. This year in particular he had a further motive to repair to the capital, where his elder brother and his consort Biby Gahassity were intreating him to listen to the wishes of Nefissa-Begum, who wanted to marry Agababa, her adoptive son, to one of Sayd-ahmed-qhan's daughters; and exerted every

nerve

Death of
Ecrám-ed-dó8lah

nerve to accomplish that end. The Prince had now brought the intended bride, with all his friends, relations and kinsmen, and every preparative relative to the wedding; when lo! the ceremony was at once suspended by the premature death of Ecrám-ed-dó8lah, younger brother to Seradj-ed-dó8lah: a youth who had been adopted in his very cradle by his uncle Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, who never had any child of his own. The infant was bred with the tenderest care under the eyes of his adoptive father, who doated so much upon him, that a stranger would have taken him for the most impassionate lover. He died of the small pox, which proved so virulent, as to amaze all the beholders. The moment he ceased to be, a general scream and howling, not unlike that which shall rise at the last judgment, broke forth from every part of the palace, and it was echoed by those that rose in Aly-verdy-qhan's palace, and in those of all his relations, all of which became inconsolable. This mournful accident having suspended the match, the father with the bride returned to P8raniah. This loss made a deep impression on the adoptive father's heart: he henceforward lost all relish for the world: became restless and often giddy; sour in his temper, negligent in his dress and person; and totally alienated from every thing, but the tender object of his sorrow. In vain did his consort, in vain did his venerable uncle try every method to reconcile him to life and enjoyment: numberless passetimes and amusements were daily offered to his sight: all in vain: the inconsolable lord seemed insensible to any other feeling but that of his loss. Some months after, and it was on the day of the sacrifice, that day of rejoicing and fresh clothes for all mankind, he was visited by Aly-verdy-Qhan, who requested, but in vain, some change of apparel on so great a solemnity: The afflicted man proved deaf; and the Viceroy seeing in what condition he was, ordered him to be shifted in his very presence; he also directed his consort and all the ladies of his sanctuary to appear in his presence with clothes suitable to so great a day, so as to attract some attention from him by such a spectacle. The man submitted to every thing; but as soon as he was left to himself, he threw away his turban, dropped his new clothes, and sat disconsolate in his late squalid apparel, the very picture of desolation and despair. He would strike

his

his hands on his head and face, weep bitterly, and vent his grief in the most piercing lamentations, interrupted now and then by deep sobs. *I have been disloyal to my love*, did he say, wringing his hands together, *I have parted with him: have been a faithless lover: an ungrateful friend, but stay: will repair my neglect—* It was in this manner he went on consuming his days, a prey to grief and unutterable woe. At last it pleased the Almighty comforter of the afflicted to provide some relief for his mind: a lady that had been attached to the deceased young prince, and had been left pregnant by him, was in a few months brought to bed of a son; and this lucky event was seized on by Aly-verdy-qhan to alleviate his nephew's sorrow. In compliment to his grief, the infant was in his very cradle decorated with the rank of six thousand horse, and the title of M8rad-ed-dò8lah *, or the wished for of the Empire. No insignia, no mark of elevation and eminence were spared for him: he had his fringed Palki, his Nagara, (or kettle drum) his insignia of the fish, his standards, and even his *Naleki* and *Taht-Revan*, or moving throne. The patents of all these distinctions having been supplicated long ago from the imperial court, were now carried by the Viceroy himself to his inconsolable nephew, who struck with the newness of the sight, turned his eyes upon the child, amused himself with its smiles, and by degrees conceived a fondness for him: and no less than such a consolation was requisite to make him go on with his own existence. And now to dignities and founding titles were added employments: the superintendency of the buildings (which is an office of importance) was conferred on the child; and a retinue of macebearers, menial servants, gentlemen-ushers, secretaries, equeries, horses, and camels and elephants, as well as a seraglio, having been provided for him, all proportioned

* This prince, who is a handsome man, with all that beauty of features hereditary in that family, lives now at Moorshoodabad, where he enjoys a pension of five hundred rupees a month from the English, of whom so much ill is said, so much more is suspected, and who yet have supported and relieved every person remaining of that inimical family.

tioned to their lord's size; the child and its diminutive household being sometimes carried along the streets, afforded a diverting spectacle to the whole city. Some persons of character and distinction having been thought of for superintending his education, and some others for watching over its amusements, or partaking of its pleasures, those offices came to be sought for with a deal of emulation, as being deemed a sure road to preferment. It was in this manner the disconsolate man was beguiling his sorrow and grief; but yet, since the accident that had deprived him of his darling, he seemed to be dead to the world: no life seemed to remain in him; and not only his own person was verging to a sensible decay, but his very family, and indeed the whole of Aly-verdy-qhan's family, was withering visibly from that very time. Doubtless the recording hand of an attentive providence had entered in its registers the behaviour of Hadji-ahmed to Ser-efraz-qhan's family, after that prince's death: behaviour overlooked by Ali-verdy-qhan his brother. Hadji-ahmed had rent the veil, the sacred veil, that hung over the deceased's inner most household: he had cast a prying eye throughout his sanctuary: had given way to a prophane longing for some ladies of his bed; thrown a criminal hand upon some of them; and carried others away by main force. Nor were all those enormities taken notice of by the Viceroy, his brother, who unaware, or more probably unmindful, of his having become by his victory the supreme magistrate of the country, had the meanness to wink at such atrocities; and as other excesses and other enormities had been exercised also over the deceased's children, ladies, family, dependants and private estate; so, a like treatment had been invisibly set a part for the perpetrators; and an avenging providence, that had minutely recorded every one of those excesses, now came upon the victorious family for a full retribution, and a chastisement in kind. In the zenith of the conqueror's power, such infamies and lewdnesses came to be practised by some females and other persons of his family, as cannot be mentioned with decency, but effectually dishonoured his family for ever. All his daughters, as well as his beloved Seradj-ed-dó8lah, lapsed into such

a flagitious conduct, and they were guilty of such a variety of shameful excesses, as would have disgraced totally any person whatever, still more persons of their elevated rank and sublime station. It was this darling of his, this beloved Seradj-ed-dó8lah, who by running up and down the streets, accustomed himself to hold such vile discourses, and to commit such unaccountable actions, as amazed every one. Patrolling every street and every lane with a cohort composed of Aly-verdy-qhan's children and grand-children, he fell into an abominable way of life, that respected neither rank, nor age, nor sex, but was calculated to prepare from a far the ruin and desolation of that sublime building of fortune and sovereignty which it's founder had been rearing with so much toil and danger. No notice was taken of so flagitious a conduct; and it was on such repeated connivances that the young man commenced a course of enormities that afforded materials and administered fuel, to the overtaking vengeance of an unerring observer. This conduct, which Aly-verdy-qhan overlooked in that infatuated young man, turned out to be so natural in him, that at last he became fearless, and was committing daily excesses and violences of all kinds, not only without the least remorse, but also without the least reprimand. He made a sport of sacrificing to his lust almost every person of either sex, to which he took a fancy; or else, he converted them without scruples into so many objects of the malignity of his temper, or the frolicks of his inconsiderate youth. And having by this time provided himself with a number of followers consonant to his mind, he commenced a course of insolencies, infamies and profligacies; and either out of that ignorance, incident to that age, or because of an ardor natural to his constitution, (although really it was because of his perfect reliance on his uncle's forbearance), such a course of life became in him his real character. This is so far true, that he was observed to be low spirited and melancholy, whenever he fell short of opportunities to commit his usual excesses and enormities; and they became so customary to him, that he acted all along without a grain of remorse, or a spark of recollection. Making no distinction betwixt vice and virtue, and paying no regard to the nearest re-

lations,

Infamous conduct of the females of the Conqueror's family, and above all, of his grand-son Seradj-ed-dó8lah.

lations, he carried defilement wherever he went; and like a man alienated in his mind, he made the houses of men and women of distinction the scenes of his profligacy, without minding either rank or station. In a little time he became as detested as Pharáo: people on meeting him by chance used to say *God save us from him!* and his insolence and pride growing to a height by impunity, he set at nought the important services rendered to his uncle and family by both Hosséin-c8ly-qhan, and his brother Hâider-aly-qhan, and he undertook to put them both to death: this was his coup-deffay; and to insure success to his design, he made use of some art to gain the heart of a young man, who having had mighty disputes with the officers employed by Hosséin-c8ly-qhan, deputy-governor of the province of Dacca, had come over to Moorshoodabad to complain of them, and had found means to lay his case before Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, who concerned himself in his behalf: his name was, Aga Sadyc, and his title, Sadacat-mahmed-qhan, son to Aga-bakyr, a considerable Zemindar of those parts. Seradj-ed-dó8lah engaged him to return to Dacca in order to kill Hosséin-eddin-qhan, nephew to Hosséin-c8ly-qhan, and the latter's deputy of Dacca: a young man who for some reasons had fallen into a melancholy, that had disordered his senses. The man did exactly as he was bid. Such a murder committed so bluntly, struck a terror and consternation in the mind of all the inhabitants of that great city, who concluded that an action of that high nature would have never been perpetrated, had not some person of the first rank afforded it countenance: so that every one remained silent and thoughtful, until it became known that the perpetrator had no order, and no voucher in his hand; he was therefore set upon by the inhabitants and by the friends of Hosséin-c8ly-qhan, who missed the murderer, but by mistake killed his father Aga-bakyr. The son having escaped so great a danger, fled to Moorshoodabad; and by such a step threw away both his peace of mind, and the safety of his person. This affair was put up with by Seradj-ed-dó8lah for the present; but it was only for the present; for he soon found means to concern all the members of his family in his resentment; and his grand-
mother,

This person de-
tected.

mother, consort to Aly-verdy-qhan, went so far, as to ask leave to put to death the two obnoxious brothers, meaning Hosséin-c8ly-qhan, and Háider-aly-qhan. The old Viceroy, by one of those neglects that cannot be ascribed to any thing, but an unavoidable fate, contented himself with answering *that such an affair could not be done without Nevazish-mahmed-qhan's consent.*

This, the Grand-mother undertook to procure; and after having extorted her husband's tacite consent, she applied to her son-in-law, by his consort, who was her daughter. This Princess, although so nearly related to Seradj-ed-dó8lah, bore him an invincible hatred: but at that time there had happened a little misunderstanding between her and Hosséin-c8ly-qhan for an inconsiderable subject, which it would be improper to mention*; and she was so dissatisfied with him, that she joined her mother in persuading Navazish-mahmed-qhan. The latter, who had been at all times a weak man, and now was discontented with both earth and heaven, gave his consent to an infamous action which contained in itself his condemnation in this world and in the other; the more so, as he was an intimate friend of Hosséin-c8ly-qhan's; and oaths and promises upon the glorious Coran had intervened between them, that he would at all times take as much care of the life and honor of his friend, as he might of his own. All these preparations being over,

* What the author calls an inconsiderable subject, is by no means an inconsiderable one for ladies: Hosséin-c8ly-Qhan, who was, what they call in English, a handsome stout black man, had quitted this Princess, for her younger sister, Amna-Begum, of amorous memory, mother to Seraj-ed-dó8lah. But there was another subject of discontent between her and the handsomestout man, although it looks somewhat ludicrous: the stout man had the talent of fencing with either hand; and whilst actually in intrigue with Gahaffity-Biby, the wife, he had a great deal of business to transact with the husband, who was an impotent man, addicted to feminine joys. This husband was Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, eldest nephew as well as son-in-law, to Aly-verdy-Qhan; and he had more than once serious quarrells with his consort about the ambidexter nobleman. There are at Moorshoodabad to this day several persons who remember of sharp Dialogues that happened on that very strange subject between the husband and the wife; but although they are exceedingly curious, and not quite uncommon in this country, they prove however to be of such a nature as English paper would not admit.

over, Aly-verdy-qhan, to save appearances, as he fancied, and to conceal his share in the perpetration of the crime, went to Radj-mahl, on pretence of a hunting party. This hunting coming to the ears of Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan his son-in-law, he repaired thither from P8rania, to pay him his respects; and it is that nobleman that did me the honor to present me to Aly-verdy-Qhan: this prince was pleased to make much of me; and he seemed desirous to attach me to his person; but fate did not allow him time; and as I was already provided for, his desire did not take place; but it is very probable, that had I repaired to his capital immediately after Sáy-d-ahmed-Qhan's demise, he would have amply provided for me to the utmost of my wishes, and in a manner suitable to my rank in life. But Aly-verdy-Qhan died soon after; and it became too late to avail myself of his good will. And thanks be to God, that I was not reduced to the necessity of appearing at a new door. After such a digression, which the reader will pardon, we shall return to the thread of our history.

Seradj-ed-dó8lah for his Coup-deffay, murders two illustrious brothers.

Seradj-ed-dó8lah then on his grand-father's departure, made a visit to his uncle Nevazish-mahmed-Qhan, and having received his consent, he was returning home in the evening; and this was in the beginning of year 1168. But as Hofféin-c8ly-Qhan's house lay full in his way, and that poor wretch, who expected his death these many days, had constantly kept himself at home, he stopped at the gate, and ordered that both brothers should be brought forth directly. Hofféin-c8ly-Qhan, warned by the throng at his gate, fled, and took shelter in Hadji-mehdy's house, which was close to his own; and he desired him to go immediately, and to give notice to Navazish-mahmed-Qhan, (whose gentleman usher, Hadji-mehdy was) of his friend Hofféin-c8ly-Qhan's danger. Thither Hadji-mehdy went immediately; but receiving no favorable answer, he was returning home in a dejected state of mind. Mean while the satellites having broke into the man's house, and into the adjoining ones, soon found Hofféin-c8ly-Qhan, whom they brought to their master. That cruel, relentless, remorseless monster, no sooner cast his eyes upon him,

him, that he ordered his being hacked to pieces; and he was hacked to pieces accordingly; it was in this manner that unfortunate man drank up his cup of martyrdom. His brother, Háider-aly-Qhan, who was blind, being brought in the same manner, was made a partaker of his brother's fate. But as he was an antient warrior and a valorous man, instead of descending to supplications and tears, as had done his brother, he gave his murderer foul language, and loaded him with taunting reproaches, in which he severely reflected on his person, his mother, and his family; *thou worthless fellow* said he, *it is thus that thou murderest brave men?* he was not suffered to say more, but was instantly cut down.

The innocent blood spilt in that occasion, proved as fertile in troubles, as that of Siavush of old: it produced a series of events that proved fatal to that power and dominion, which Aly-verdy-Qhan had been rearing with so much bodily labour, and so much toil: it lighted up a blind fire which soon after these two murders, commenced emitting smoke; and which breaking out in flames at last, destroyed in its progress all that numerous family; and extending its ravages far and near, consumed every thing in those once happy regions of Bengal, prostrating and overwhelming totally those rich provinces which it has reduced to a heap of ashes, and yet smoking coals: it verified that tremendous sentence once revealed to the Prince of messengers: *so shalt thou have done, so shalt thou receive.*

After that unhappy transaction, Aly-verdy-Qhan returned to his capital; and his son-in-law, Sáyd-ahmed-Qhan, took the road of Páranah; but the latter was uneasy in his mind, and thoughtful at what he had seen, and heard lately; and as this had put an end to all the confidence which he had hitherto reposed in both the uncle and the nephew, he resolved henceforward to spare nothing that might secure himself in his post; and it is from that moment that an avenging providence commenced providing materials for its future exertions. But as it is the faithful historian's duty to assemble such events as are come to his knowledge, and to speak of them

Noble reflections of the author on that subject.

pre-

precisely as they shall have happened, without being byassed by either envy or love, and without flattering either side or party; so I repose so much confidence in the candor and equity of my generous readers, as to flatter myself, that without suffering their minds to be darkened by the dust of discontent, they shall abate in behalf of the poor man (me) something of the punctilious delicacy of their taste; and that they shall overlook all the blemishes of this history in favor of its sincerity and exactitude: I flatter myself, I say, that they shall cover the writer with the cloak of forbearance, should they judge the writing itself unworthy of their praise.

Nevazish-mahmed-qhan ever since Egram-ed-dólah's demise, had fallen into a course of despondence and sorrow, that incessantly prayed upon his spirits; so that he was seldom himself, and seldom easy or in full health. After a length of time symptoms of an hydropsy were discovered upon him. A little before that distemper had declared itself, the physician Aly-naky-qhan the Isfahanian, used to say that the distemper was preparing to make its appearance, and that now was the time to provide against it by taking more care of his person, or never; but the disconsolate lord continued as insensible as usual. After the distemper had declared itself, his consort and friends intreated him, but to no purpose, to allow himself to be taken care of. Matters growing worse, Aly-verdy-qhan ordered him to be brought to his palace, together with his consort, and his whole family and dependants, without excepting the women that were connected with his nephew, and in particular Bhag-bhai, a favorite actresse * and some others.

* This woman who had contracted in the seraglio an intimacy with a young eunuch, came out with him on her lord's demise, and lived with him full thirty years, upon what jewels she had received in present in her days of prosperity. She died, as die all women, that attach themselves to a much younger man than themselves: she ended by being often beaten; and died of ill usage as much as of a broken heart.

others. As soon as he arrived, he was made over to the physicians: but as it is in vain for a man to arm himself with a bucler against the shafts of destiny, the sick lord's condition became worse and worse; and signs of an approaching dissolution made their appearance. His consort, who although actually in her father's house, trembled lest Seradj-ed-dôlah should confine her in that very palace, now resolved to provide for her safety; and putting herself in a covered chair together with her dying husband, she carried him to her own lodgings, where the sick man payed no attention to that change. But on the evening of the day in which he was to depart this life, he asked *what day of the week would be to-morrow*, and being answered, it would be Monday, he expressed his joy and said: *a pleasing day! I will be joined to my love.* And whether he gave directions accordingly, or that his people payed a regard to his attachment to the young prince, it is certain that he was entombed close to him. He died the thirteenth of the second Reby, in the year 1169 of the Hedjra; and his secretary has enclosed this date in a chronogram in verses which he composed on the occasion. As soon as it was day light, his body was attended by the prince of the learned, Mir-mahmed-aly-fazyl (whose learning may God preserve!) by Aly-verdy-qhan himself, and by all the relations and kinsmen of that family, as well as by the principal persons of the city, joined to an infinity of persons of all sexes and ranks. After purifying the body according to law, and pronouncing over it the customary prayers, they took it up, and carried it alternately upon their shoulders, to Moty-djil, a country seat which he had built himself and much embellished: there they deposed it for a while in the mosque which he had raised in that palace's garden; and then they committed it to the ground close to Ecrum-ed-dôlah, in the very yard of that mosque. The moment they first raised his body from the ground, such a cry and such a scream broke out at once from an infinity of men and women, as seemed to rend the air; it was such as had never been seen or heard on the like occasion at any time before. But there is no wonder if he was so much regretted: he used to spend thirty-seven thousand rupees per month in charities to old impotent persons, whether distant rela-

tions

Nevazih mah-
med-Qhan;
infinitely re-
gretted.

tions or not, whether acquaintances or strangers; and this was over and above the stated pensions that were borne in his books. These secret charities were every first day of the month put in small cloth bags of several bignesses, and sealed in his presence; after which they were ranged in several classes upon large trays or covered tables, and entrusted to eunuchs and trusty old women of his seraglio, who carried them round from house to house to each respective owner. May God's mercy rest upon him forever! His compassion to the distressed, the impotent, the orphan, and the friendless, was so extensive, that he surpassed in beneficence every member of a family where that quality seemed to be of natural growth. He was fond of living well, and of amusements and pleasures: could not bear to be upon bad terms with any one; and was not pleased when a disservice was rendered to another. Every distressed widow and orphan of the city of Moorhoodabad, seemed to him to be of his family: if any one of them had no certain livelyhood, or if having any, it proved insufficient; or if sufficient, it was liable to some impediment; any person of such a description was sure of finding a patron in him. All such persons were sure to be relieved, and relieved with an exactitude, and a modesty that seemed striving to oblige handsomely. He was averse to flattery, and disinclined from those rules of state, and those airs of reservedness imposed on persons of his high rank. He loved to live with his servants, as their friend and companion, and with his acquaintances, as their brother and equal. All his friends and acquaintances were admitted to the liberty of smoking their Hoccas or Pipes in his presence, and to drink coffee, whilst he was conversing familiarly with them; and he made it a point to oblige them, without making a parade of it; and also to grant a favor in secret, for which he had excused himself in public, and had asked their pardon. One day Naky-C8ly-ghan, son to Hâdji-abdollah the historian, a man of letters who had been Divan of Burhanpoor in Aoreng-zib's time, having interceded for a Séyd, who was now in prison at Djehan-ghir-nugur for a balance of six thousand rupees due to government, and which he could not pay: he represented "that it would be a pity that so worthy a Séyd should be in penances, whilst

" whilst so many thousand rupees, to the double and even the quadruple of that
 " sum, were monthly spent in alms and in charities; and he added that it was
 " to be hoped that the above sum would be forgiven the man, and also that he
 " would be sent for to the presence, and provided for." This short request had its
 full effect on that beneficent nobleman: with evident signs of emotion and pity,
 he ordered that letters of pardon should be immediately dispatched for that man,
 with orders to send him to Moorshoodabad; and he returned thanks to the inter-
 cessor for having put him in mind of so meritorious a piece of work. *May God*
bliss you, said he, *for your having brought such an action in my way, and procured me such*
a happiness! if the crown-officers prove dilatory, give me notice of it quickly, that I
may provide against their malice, and deliver that poor Séyd from that scene of evil
and affliction. Such instances of his beneficence were without number, and they
 are remembered by all to this day. My mother having been obliged to quit
 Patna in order to go to Moorshoodabad, where she had some particular busi-
 ness, carried her whole family thither, to wit my two younger brothers Séyd-
 aly-qhan and Ghalib-aly-qhan, as well as her daughter's husband Mir-afed-aly;
 and finding herself obliged to remain in that city longer than she expected, she was
 some what at a loss how to subsist honourably. That blessed man no sooner heard
 of this, than he undertook her support: and without waiting for any prayer or
 recommendation, he of his own accord settled upon her a plentiful and honour-
 able pension; and besides that, he made her yearly presents of precious stuffs fit
 for her person and family, especially of those that were bespoke for his own
 family in quantities at Djéhanghir-nugur, Maldah and Nediah; and as Ghalib-aly-
 qhan her younger son, was of the same age with his adoptive son, Eeram-ed-doh-
 lah, he took a pleasure in carrying him together with the young prince to his
 country seats and gardens, in his parties of pleasure. In one of those parties, a
 dance-girl of the troupe in Eeram-ed-dohlah's service chanced to take a liking
 to Ghalib-aly-qhan, and was now and then in her very performance dropping a-
 morous glances at the young man; who being himself so very young and so un-
 expe-

experienced in what might be right or wrong, and withal so exposed to all the inadvertencies incident to humanity at that age, used to return the glances in the same stile. The young noblemen of the same age, who accompanied Ecramed-dô8lah having observed that rising intelligence, were fired with jealousy and emulation, and they gave notice of the matter to him; so that he quitted the garden with apparent marks of displeasure. Nevazish-mahmed-qhan informed of this, sent for my mother, and with the greatest gentleness and circumspection, he gave her notice of what had happened; and added that in his opinion the best way to prevent the two children from falling out together, would be to keep her son at home for some days. Ecramed-dô8lah, who in thoughtlessness and violence of temper was a true copy of his elder brother, Seradj-ed-dô8lah, did not seem fully satisfied with that retreat; and to give himself the merit of having repressed his anger out of complaisance to his adoptive father, he was heard to say in his presence, "that yesterday Ghalib-aly--qhan had fairly escaped out of his hands; else, added "he, I would have killed him on the spot." These words having been several days together successive repeated in his presence, the good natured lord comprehended that the speaker wanted to feel his pulse on the subject; and losing patience on the subject, he screamed out *by the thirty chapters of the word of God, had you killed him, I would have cut your throat with my own hands:* after this sudden flash of resentment, he recovered his usual tone of voice, and after having spoken with all that tenderness which he constantly shewed him, he gave him a severe reprimand. Ecramed-dô8lah surprised at a speech that proved so contrary to his expectation, wept much and sobed much, and then said "you would have killed me for him, then? yes, replied the blessed man. *I see no great difference between you and him: you are son of one sister of mine, and he is son of another.*" Ecramed-dô8lah hearing a language to which he was not accustomed, cooled by degrees, and repressed his anger. Such was that blessed man's temper; and it must be acknowledged that the care he took of another's life, where his own heart was so deeply concerned by the ties of an attachment that even exceeded the most impass-

impassionate love, could not arise from any thing else than a peculiar excellence of character. But there is here a still stronger proof of it: He was fond of a famous actress or dancer called Bag-báy: her rank in his family was next to that of his consort; and to oblige him, the princesses of his kindred paid her much regard and much deference; but my mother (may God long keep her shade stretched over my head!) who was haughty and sometimes of a strange temper, could not bear to see her, and would not even converse with her on any account. Now it must be observed, that it was customary for him in speaking to my blessed mother to make use of the expressions *bear lady, or bear, biby*. Bhag-bhái, having inadvertently made use of the same expression, my mother flew into a passion, and said: "*who art thou, woman, that thou shouldst dare to speak at that rate?*" "this way of speaking becomes superiors, when speaking to inferiors, or masters" "when speaking to their dependants: but thou art in neither predicament: look" "at this maid of mine yonder: I set no great difference between you and" "her: if there be any, it is in this, that she wears a few trinkets of silver and" "gold, and that thou wearest many gems and much jewel-work." Bhag-bhái stooped, and did not answer a single word: but she was deeply wounded, and she complained bitterly to her Lord. His answer was, *that such was that lady's temper; that she knew it: and why then did she put herself in her way?* My mother went home, with an intention to return to Azima-bad; and she for a long time abstained from going to Court. But such a separation was more than the blessed man could bear: he sent persons of distinction to sooth her mind; but all in vain; till at last he sent her this message: *please to come of yourself: else, I declare to you that we shall go, Biby Gahassiy and myself, and by all means shall bring you along.* My mother on this message, repaired to the palace, where he received her with the highest distinction, requesting her to be reconciled to his family and house. She answered that she wanted to repair to Azim-abad. And why so, replied the worthy man, *with a melting tone of voice?* Why should you insist upon leaving us? No one has said any thing disagreeable to you: you have of yourself taken offence, and have said what-

whatever you had a mind to. At this moment his consort Cahassity Biby, who had her cue, made suddenly her appearance: she was in company with Nefissa-begum, mother to the late Ser-efraz-qhan, a Princess who was treated with the highest regard by the reigning family. Pray, Sister, what is the matter with your anger, said she? And what is the matter that you are so angry with your brother? What he tells you seems to be right; and you, sister, wholly taken up with a quarrel of your own making, do not mind all the uneasiness you give him. To all this my blessed mother continued to pay no attention, seemingly intent only on asking and obtaining leave to be gone: upon which the good natured man arose from his mesned, and went up to her: well then, said he, I am guilty! I am guilty! And now I come to your feet to obtain my pardon. These words overpowered my blessed mother: her sensibility broke forth into a flood of tears, and she poured a torrent of blessings upon him. She got up, uttered a fervent prayer that God Almighty might prolong his days, and his power, and she promised to remain.

It is such an amiable character that she is now remembering with sobs and regrets; and it is such a surpassing goodness she is mentioning at times with floods of tears, in which with a voice interrupted by the sobs of deep felt woe she often supplicates the most merciful of the most merciful to make him an object of his forgiveness. His kindness was no less conspicuous with the family and descendants of Aga-mirza, who was a son of the learned Doctor Medjlissi, with whom he had been acquainted, so early as the reign of Shudjah-qhan, at which time Aga-mirza was then in the splendor of his power and influence. He took such care of his deceased friend's children and consort, the latter of which was a daughter of Naky-c8ly-qhan, that no one would be more careful of his own wife and children. On hearing that his friend had died in his boat, on his coming from Dacca, where he had an office of importance, but when he heard that the family was not in good circumstances, he sent for the relict and her two sons, the one

one Mirza-bakyr, and the other Mirza-abdollah (whom may this my salute reach intire!) and took such care of them as to surprise even those that were acquainted with the goodness of his heart. He appointed Eunuchs to inspect their conduct, and masters to teach them the Grammar and Sciences; and he added to those cares a pension of seven hundred rupees per month, over and above seven hundred more which he allowed the mother: to all which he used to join in both seasons a profusion of precious stuffs, which were always ushered with this expression: *these can only fit your maids: but accept them for my sake.* Doubtless it is of him that it was said: verses:

“Live in such a manner as that whenever you die,

“Your virtues should make you live a new in the remembrance of mankind.”

As I, the poor man, was upon the most intimate footing with that nobleman, as well as with his brother Sâyd-ahmed-qhan; and I had a perfect knowledge of their characters, and ways of life, I can vouch for the foregoing two stories; (one of which happened in my own family): and of such stories there may be a thousand: for he had a thousand such acquaintances, on whom he bestowed his care and money in so generous a manner, that he kept it as a secret. But it is no less certain that there was no orphan and no widow in the city, that did not partake in some shape or other of his bounty and munificence; and how far he had carried the benignity of his temper, may be conceived from this particular, that at his death the city of Moorshoodabad looked like an immense hall filled with people in mourning; and that an infinity of persons looked upon his death as an irreparable loss for their own families.

His second brother, whose name was Mahmed-sâyd, and whose titles at length were Nassyr-el-mulk-sâyd-ahmed-qhan-bahadyr-sôglut-djung, had a character that held the middle way between his two brothers: he was handsomer than either,
 supe-

superior to both in many respects, their equal in most, and their inferior in few, if any at all. In power, riches and influence, he was inferior to his elder brother Nevazish-mahmed-qhan; and in that sense he was likewise inferior to his younger brother Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, to whom the possession of the important government of Azimabad naturally gave a great lustre; he was however supposed to be richer than him. But on the other hand he was thought to be somewhat below that standard in prowess and military talents, although undoubtedly superior in those respects to his elder. In the sweetness of his deportment, and also in knowledge and science, he was superior to both; but in firmness of temper, and in acuteness of discernment Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan surpassed both his brothers. Sâyd-ahmed-qhan in his youth had been much addicted to amusements and pleasures, that is, he was fond of the company of fine woman, and delighted in seeing dancers and actresses and singers; but this turn of mind having brought upon him the disgrace which befell him in Cateo, he so far corrected his way of life, that instead of those dissolute men that had been always in his company, he attached to his person a number of friends distinguished by their birth, their virtue or their knowledge; and instead of passing his life amongst dance-women and actresses, he only indulged now and then in looking or listening at their performances. About one hour before day-break, and after having performed the usual evacuations and ablutions*, he went through his devotions, and then sat in state in the great hall, where he gave a public audience twice a week, to afford an opportunity to every suitor of speaking to him. The Friday he abstained from all business; but there were four days in

* The Mahometans cannot commence their prayers (and these recur five times a day) without washing previously the two hands, the mouth, nostrils, face, top of the head, neck and ears, arms, and feet, in a certain manner and with certain short prayers. But in case of a sudden prayer (and this cannot be done but if standing or on horseback), then the ablution may be dispensed with. This ablution is only the daily and usual one: there is one of a higher nature, which always must precede the former, when a man has cohabited with a woman, is going to charge the enemy, &c. and it consists in plunging or washing the body with certain rites.

the week, where he spoke of nothing else; and then he divided his time in the following manner: In the morning his friends were admitted and drank coffee with him; after which were admitted his acquaintances and others, some of whom sat only a little, and others withdrew immediately after having made their bow. After this, he sat still two hours more, and then retired to an apartment reputed belonging to the sanctuary, and where none were admitted but old females of the seraglio, and trusty eunuchs: the Moutufuddies and heads of the several offices remained without; but occasionally transmitted by the hands of the eunuchs such of their papers as required his perusal or signature: these he perused in private and in silence; and after having examined the contents, he returned them, signed, or rejected, as he thought proper: and mean while, his friends, and the principal persons of his court, amongst which was also this most inconsiderable of mankind, were sitting without, in a hall separated from his closet by a curtain. His secretaries also attended there, and occasionally sent in their minutes by the hands of an eunuch; and these being returned after some corrections, were transcribed fair, sent in again to be sealed by the seal-keeper, then attending, and returned again to be dispatched; the post-master always attending with a number of couriers, ready. At about ten o'clock dinner was served up, and it was always accompanied by a number of tables and trays covered with victuals: these were always brought ready, and distributed in the houses of his friends and acquaintances, to some every day, to some, twice a week, to some others once a week, and to very few twice in a month: this was a standing rule that required no new direction. Whilst the superintendant of the kitchen was arranging these tables, and exposing them to his view, the civilians and heads of offices stood up, and after having sent in their respects by the ministry of an eunuch, they withdrew to their homes. After dinner he usually took a nap, and then rising about noon, he went through the usual evacuations and ablutions, made his noon prayers, and then read some chapter of the word of God. At about three o'clock, he performed his third prayer, and then came into the public hall,

hall, where he conversed with learned and eminent men, such as Gholam-yáhíá and the Mufti-Zya-ollah, and Mir-vahed, and the Moluvy or doctor Lal-mah-med, and Shek-hedáiet-ollah, and Séyd-abdol-hadi: with these he conferred upon some point of science, often upon his own Coran, of which he would read a passage, which was explained and commented by Mollah-gholam-yáhíá, to which others added their opinions and observations. He used to say "that at his age
 "to make new acquisitions in matters of knowledges was almost impossible:
 "that he was satisfied with what little he had of it, and wanted no addition; but
 "that reading and comprehending matters of knowledge seemed to add new
 "life to his existence; and that he was so accustomed to that way of life, that
 "when the conferences did not take place, as usual, he reckoned himself to have
 "that day suffered a great loss in his treasury, and was uneasy until it was
 "retrieved and made up." As he was exceedingly kind to me, the last of men, he always insisted on my being present at the conferences, and he was mightily pleased with my observations and illustrations. In voyage or at home, he spoke now and then to others, but seemed particularly to hang on what I, the most inconsiderable of mankind, would say; and he expressed at all times so much esteem for me, that his oldest acquaintances and friends used to wonder by what art and magic this new man had acquired so much ascendant upon him; and how the prince was at all times so ready to quit the company of others, to go to him. The conferences usually took-up two whole hours, after which admission was given to the most considerable of his friends, such as Séif-aaly-qhan, brother to Séif-qhan and son as well as he, of Emir-qhan, Viceroy of Cabul; Roh-eddin-husséin-qhan, another son of Séif-qhan's, and a young nobleman with whom he had contracted an alliance; Naky-aly-qhan, my younger brother; and Mir-aly-yar-qhan son to Séif-qhan's sister: all illustrious persons to whom he used to join Radja-adjáib-ráy, his prime minister; and after his death, his son Radja-schudj-ráy: he admitted also the heads of the paymaster's office, as well as those of the light artillery: to these were added the Secretary Ráy-churamon, Djaaser-c8ly-qhan, keeper
 of

of the treasury, and Mirza-dâ8d the Qhansaman or steward: all these used to sit a full hour, and after exposing what they had to say, they took their leave; and then the prince quitted the hall, and entered his sanctuary, where with some favorite ladies of his he would take an airing in that fine garden, which he had enclosed; or he mounted with them upon small poneys richly adorned, and rode with them up and down the enclosure. The evening being come, he performed his fourth prayer; and then was attended by some favorite actresses, dancers and singers of his; else, he remained alone, and was entertained with some curious and diverting story or tale, which lulled him to sleep; and this was at about nine or ten o'clock. This rule of life held regularly the whole year round, without exception. He was naturally a sweet tempered man; and civility was so natural to him, that for full seven years, in which I have been in his service, I never remember to have heard him say a harsh word to any one, (whether high or low), or to have seen him guilty of an improper action. He was pleased with magnificence, and fond of living nobly; and although his revenue was greatly inferior to that of his elder brother Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, who was these many years in office, and whose treasures of course must have been greatly above his standard; yet he was his equal in jewels, silver and gold furniture, as well as in elephants and some other articles appertaining to the highest ranks; and these appeared at his death, when the treasury was found to contain forty-five lacs in silver, and, if I well remember, about one lac of Eshreffies*: nor was the jewel-

* If we reckon twenty-five lacs more for elephants, horses, carriages, camels, and boats, &c. &c. the aggregate of those sums will amount to more than one coror: add to this ten lacs more in houses, gardens, furniture, apparel, artillery, stores and arms; and also the sums expended in cloths and jewels within the seraglio (nor is that a small article); and the whole must amount to a *saving* of twenty lacs a year (for we must omit the first year, and make some account of the outstanding debts in the last). Add to all this the standing expences for seven thousand Infantry and as much Cavalry; the artillery; a fleet of boats; a numerous court receiving salaries; a seraglio of five hundred women; a table splendid; and infinity of yearly

el-office found to contain less than those sums in jewels, in gold and silver-furniture, and in precious stuffs; he had also a great number of elephants and horses, and other animals in plenty; and all in good condition.

Once (and he was then in his private apartment with a number of ladies behind the curtain) he took into his head to make me a present of an elephant, for he was that day very merry, and amusing himself with the apparatus of the Busunt-panchmi, or festival used in introducing the spring season. He had with him in the closet, an old man called Mir-mahó8b-aaly; who was extremely attached to him, having been his acquaintance so early as the times when he came in Bengal with Hadji-ahmed, his father, in quest of a livelihood. There was no other person at all in the apartment, save a few menial servants. An eunuch came out of the closet and called me up; I went in, and made my bow; on which he desired me to be seated; and he commenced conversing on a variety of subjects; after some time spent in this manner, it was announced in a high tone of voice by Hazyr-aly-qhan, (a slave of his household, and now a man of importance, for he was superintendant of his hall of audience), that Mir-soltan-aly-qhan, who had been honoured with the gift of an elephant, was waiting at the gate of the hall of audience, and, should it be his highness's pleasure, would just shew himself from afar, make his bow of thanksgiving, and be gone immediately. To which the prince consented; and that ceremony being over in a moment, he turned again to me, and asked me whether I had ever seen his
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yearly cloths and jewels; as well as a legion of pensioners that received from five to a thousand rupees per month; and this aggregate of expences cannot be rated at less than forty lacs more: in all sixty lacs; (and the translator has been assured by writers of his treasury, that his revenue amounted to *fifty eight lacs*). Fifty eight lacs! here is then a decay incredible, as being past all computation and all conjecture; for although some fifteen years ago Rezi-eddin-mahmed-qhan used to transmit yearly from thence *eleven lacs* to the treasury of Moorshoodabad, it is certain that P8raniah cannot yield now (1786) above *six or seven lacs* a year.

elephant-office? *My Lord Qhan, said he, I want to know your opinion of them. I answered that I had seen his elephants, and that they were numerous and of uncommon bigness and beauty: well then, added he, you must look over them again, and chuse any one you please, as I intend to compliment you with it.* I, the poor man, on this compliment got up, made a profound bow and answered, "that
 " the expressions with which he had been pleased to usher his noble present, were
 " in my opinion worth a gift of his whole elephant-office; but that the riding
 " on such an animal, required a certain state and a suitable retinue; and although
 " I had been by the special favour of his highness amply provided with an honourable
 " subsistence, and was perfectly satisfied with it; nevertheless I did not think
 " that my time for riding on an elephant was come as yet; and that when that
 " time should be brought forth by his favour, it would be time then to
 " think of elephants." The turn I gave to my excuse was taken much notice of, and he smiled, but said nothing. Some time after, there came intelligence that Ab8l-man8r-qhan, Viceroy of A8d, was arrived at Banares, probably with a view to invade Bengal. Aly-verdy-qhan upon this intelligence wrote to his nephew at P8raniah to march out with his army, whilst himself should set out on his side in his way to Azimabad. Sáydl-ahmed-qhan intent on his preparatives, commanded me to raise a good body of infantry and cavalry: I answered that I would, but that as P8raniah was in a corner, and out of the high road from Hindostan, none would be procurable, but the people of P8raniah; to which he replied, that he had no objections to them, provided they should be picked men. The body in question was soon raised; but news came a little after, that Ab8l-man8r-qhan had thought proper to return to A8d, his capital; so that the suspicions he had raised in Bengal, subsiding by his departure, the new levies were all dismissed, to the great discomfort of the commanders, who after having wished for some war and some dispute, were now reduced to the necessity of making interest for their being kept in pay. But he kept only two and twenty Afghan troopers, who being excellently mounted, were reserved for his body-guards. As to myself, hearing of this general reform, I

pre-

presented him a paper purporting, "whether it was not his pleasure that I should dismiss my own new levies also, which were numerous enough?" In answer to my question, he wrote at the bottom these words: "why does his illustrious lordship trouble himself about these matters? let there be to-morrow a general review of his corps, and then their fate shall be determined." The next day I carried all my people to the review: he looked at them all, but ordered that they should be kept in pay, and he moreover added the two and twenty Afghans to them; and as my corps was found now to consist of about eighty horse and about two hundred foot, he signed the review, and then turning towards me, *My Lord Qhan*, said he, *I believe now that the time for your riding on an elephant is come at last, and that you shall have no objections to my presenting you with one*: casting then his eyes upon the elephants, he made choice of one, and presented it to me.

One day he heard by mere chance, that I had sent to my venerable father then at Shah-djehan-abad (and now doubtless in the assembly of the justes) a bill of exchange of two thousand rupees. *Is that true, My lord-qhan*, said he, *in full company?* "I answered it was; and that as it was no secret matter, I made no difficulty to acknowledge it." He replied: *what, if you had given me notice of it? I might have taken a share in that meritorious action of your's.* I rejoined, "that there was no need of his taking any share at all, as the whole of the sum originally belonged to him, and had accrued to me from his bounty; and that as to the modiciy of it, my fortune being all of his own bestowing, could not be but known to his highness." He smiled, and turning towards my banker, then present, who was also his cash-keeper, he ordered him to charge the bill of exchange to his debit, and to refund the money to me. I got-up and returned him my thanks for his manifold bounties. This favor was soon followed by another. There was a certain district called Serip8r, the rent of which was fixed at a one hundred and eighty and some thousand rupees; and he conceived without
any

any application from me, and even without my knowledge, the design of bestowing the collection of that revenue upon me. With this view he pitched upon Radja Adjaib ray his prime minister, who had been likewise prime minister to the late Séif qhan, and sent him to my house. The minister brought with him two Qhylaats, or dresses of honor, and also a gentleman of distinction, who had long been in the practice of renting and taking to farm, the revenues of government, and amongst others, those of that very district. His name was Sheh-amanollah. The minister speaking in his master's name said, "that his highness had devised that office, to put some emoluments in my way; and proposed two methods for insuring them: the first, that I should now put on the Qhylaats of investiture, and charge myself with the collection, after appointing for my deputy whomsoever I might have a mind to; the second, that I should put on the dress of investiture, but appoint the gentleman then in his company for my deputy; in which case the deputy would be responsible only to government, at the same time that by a paper ready executed, which he shewed me, he would bind himself to afford me a pension of seven thousand rupees a year, over and above the presents and nuzurs usual at the two holy-days, at the Des-hara and at the other customary occasions, as the new year's day and others; he was likewise obliged to execute without hesitation, and as my servant, whatever commissions and orders I should occasionally give him." The latter proposal being the less cumbersome of the two, I adopted it, as I perceived it was the donor's secret inclination; and also, as by insuring me a small revenue, it freed me from the anxieties and bodily trouble of a collection. Such kindnesses and attentions, so far from being usual from lords to their dependants, are hardly to be expected from fathers to their sons.

One day that blessed man after having taken an airing in his favorite boat, took into his head to land on the other side of the river, his Paleky and Naleky remaining on this side; and as no vehicle was at hand to land him from the boat, and he was not accustomed to walk on the board which the boatmen usually stretch

stretch out from their boats to shore for landing people, he seemed at a loss how to manage upon so narrow a bridge. On observing which, I advanced bare footed on the board, and stretched my hand, bidding him help himself with it, and come along. The prince pleased with my having guessed his embarrassment, and with my giving him assistance so timely, smiled, availed himself of my hand, and came along; when being near the landing place, he stopped short, and said, *My Lord Qhan, you have to day rendered me a great service by stretching your hand.* I answered, "that I thought otherwise; and that I fancied his highness had rather taken me by the hand with intention to carry me higher." The Prince laughed, and said: *So I hope too, my Lord-Qhan; and I hope it shall come to pass just as you have foretold. Nevertheless I must inform you that I reckon upon your assistance in the other world, as I do in this.* Let the virtuous take example from this prince; and let them observe how modestly he thought of himself. If you consider only the difference of age, he was about sixty, and I was only twenty-seven years old; if you consider the propinquity of blood, I was the younger, and he by much the elder member of the family; and if you consider the difference of stations and ranks, he was a glorious lord of the rank of seven thousand horse, and I was no more than one of his servants; and yet with all this elevation, and all this superiority, he made it a point to speak always with modesty, and to oblige with the most becoming grace.

"Modesty is pleasing and meritorious in those seated on high,

"But in a poor man, it is only an appendage of his character and station."

This prince governed for full seven years the province of P8raniah with absolute power; but yet with so much equity and attention to the welfare of the subject, that both the nobles and husbandmen were exceedingly pleased with his government, and at all times ready to give it their applauses. Retired in a corner, at a distance from the great roads to and from Hindostan, he had no occasion

caſion at all either to wage war or to travel : So that his travels went no farther than Radjmahal, whither his uncle, who was very fond of hunting, uſed to repair almoſt every year ; and ſometimes he proceeded as far as Moorhoodabad, to ſee his brother Nevaziſh-mahmed-Qhan and his nephews and nieces, as well as the princeſſes of his family. Nor did he ever ſet out from P8raniah in a military equipage, but on two occaſions : the firſt time it was to oppoſe Fahr-eddin-hoſſein-Qhan, that ill adviſed ſon of Seif-Qhan's ; the other, it was to chaſtiſe Shek-mahmed-Djelil, Zemindar of P8raniah, who enjoyed a good eſtate and a great revenue, but who was undone for having liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of ſenſeleſs, ignorant friends, by whoſe counſels he excited troubles, proved refractory, and demolithed his own welfare and family. This event happened in the height of the rains ; and although ſober advice was given that ill fated man, it proved of no avail ; he was a ſtaunch Shya, and endowed with many valuable qualifications, as well as inclined to do meritorious actions : but in this, he miſtook ſo far the line of conduct which became him, as to engage in a courſe of contentions that brought upon himſelf a number of evils and diſgraces that ended fatally, and at laſt poiſoned his exiſtence. To put an end to the troubles, and to bring the diſpute to a concluſion, I interferred in his cauſe by ſending perſons to ſoſten his mind, and by interceding with his lord, with no other view, I can aſſure, but that of reſcuing that ſenſeleſs man from the evils that hung over him ; but my efforts availed nothing ; and Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan, againſt his own inclination, was obliged in the height of the rainy ſeaſon to put himſelf at the head of his troops in order to bring him under controul. The troops which that ill adviſed man had raiſed, being intimidated by the governor's preſence, did not dare to ſtand by him : he found himſelf at once plunged in a ſea of diſappointment ; and being abandoned by every one, he was overtaken by the claws of deſtiny, and taken with his family and children, and every thing belonging to him. He died in priſon ; but as he had ſpent in ſupporting troops, the public revenues he was entruſted with, an immense balance was found againſt his family ; and it was repeated from his ſon, Gholam-hoſſein ;

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but I can say that after Sáyd-ahmed-qhan's demise, I interested myself so earnestly with his son and successor, that I prevailed upon that young prince to release a youth equally innocent, and ignorant of business, as well as incapable to pay; and I engaged the prince to send him back to his family estate, where he might usefully employ himself in recalling his dispersed farmers, and in repeopleing that half ruined country. And thanks be to God Almighty, that the above service was performed on my part, without any mercenary view whatever of either retribution or reward; and as I hope that the reader will forgive me that digression, let us now revert to our anecdotes about Sáyd-ahmed-qhan.

My younger brother Naky-aly-qhan was in his youth of a hasty violent temper, that never minded times or places. One day after rising from Sáyd-ahmed-qhan's presence, he came and seated himself in the hall of audience, close to the prime minister Radja Adjáib-ray: when there entered a Gentoo of the Catry tribe, a man very low born in that very country, and who bore on his forehead a delineation of all the troubles and evils which he would cause one day. Young Sháocat-djung, who was created grand master of the artillery of P8raniah by his father in imitation of Seradj-ed-dò8lah who had been invested with a like office at Moorshoodabad, had thought proper to make of this man his Divan and confidant; and the young prince's department being very considerable by the numbers of cavalry and infantry attached to it, Achant-ray (and that was the man's name) acted as deputy to his master in it. This gentleman came for some business, and wanted to take his seat between Adjáib-ray and Naky-aly-qhan; the latter forbade him: the other proud of his office, and of his influence with his master, paid no regard to him; and he spoke a few words in contempt of it. Naky-aly-qhan incensed at his presumption, ordered a servant of his, that stood behind, to pull down that man's turban; and finding the servant not ready enough, he pulled it himself, and threw it on the ground. The man stung to the quick by such an affront, quitted the assembly, and went in that condition to his young master,

master, to whom he made great complaints. The young prince was shocked; and in the first emotions of his resentment he ordered the troops of his department to keep themselves in readiness. As Naky-aly-qhan's house was over against Sháocat-djung's lodging's, from which it was parted only by a large street, some gentleman of distinction, who were his particular friends, (and such was Mirza-rustem-aly, and his brother Mirza-háider-aly, with several others), hearing of his danger, armed themselves, and ran to his assistance. Sáyd-ahmed-qhan, being soon informed of this tumult, sent for Laaly, the colonel, a principal commander of the artillery, who had a thousand musqueteers, and two hundred troopers under his orders, and he commanded him immediately to get his men under arms, and to go to Naky-aly-qhan's assistance. The officer answered "that as he might be opposed by Sháocat-djung, who was son to his lord, he was at a loss how to manage." *Do, said the prince, as you shall see done by: repel force by force.* The prince sent at the same time injunctions to all the commanders attached to the artillery to forbid their moving to Sháocat-djung's assistance, or their joining him in raising troubles, and that, under pain of being dismissed the service, and severely punished besides. The young lord hearing of their order, quitted the party, and repaired to the palace, where he appeared before the prince his father with a most dejected countenance; and he complained heavily of the affront put upon him. The prince answered every one of his complaints by a severe reprimand; and Sháocat-djung, both humbled and confounded at such a reception, expressed a repentance, and returned home very much discontented; insomuch that for a length of time, all intercourse ceased between him and Naky-aly-qhan, both abstaining from speaking to each other. Some months after a wedding happened in Sáyd-ahmed-qhan's family, at which both the young men were invited, and of course obliged to partake of the pleasures and entertainments of the feast. The nuptials lasted some days, at one of the last of which the prince rose to get into his sanctuary, and he was already at the door, when, as if recollecting something, he came back to the assembly, and taking his son by the hand, he

carried

carried him to Naky-aly-qhan, and said these very words: *so much shyness and distance between brothers, is quite unbecoming; do you embrace each other, and do re-commence to be friends again upon new terms.* May God Almighty in his goodness forgive that worthy man! and may he allow him to repose in a corner of his mansions of mercy! So much goodness and so much benignity, I never heard of in the character of any prince, nor of any lord constituted in power and dignity; nor has he ever been equalled by any one in these heavenly qualifications. May God's forgiveness and mercy be forever upon his departed soul! Amen.

We have said somewhere that Abdol-aly-qhan, my maternal uncle, had been obliged to seek his fortune, as far as the Imperial court; but it was his ill fortune to advance very little his affairs by such a long voyage, although he had all the qualifications requisite for attaining the highest dignities, and he was much befriended by the Vezir Zulficar-djung, son to the late Sadat-qhan: he therefore turned his views towards Mahmed-c8ly-qhan, a young nobleman who was son to Mirza-mohsen, and nephew to Ab8l-man8r-qhan; and he lived some time in the society of that young lord, who after the victory gained over the Afghans, (victory in which Nevol-ráy lost his life), became his uncle's deputy in his government of A8d. But my uncle having found means to fall out also with this young nobleman, he came to Banarefs, where he took up his abode. As I seemed greatly affected by his misfortunes and disappointments, Sáyd-ahmed-qhan had the goodness to interest himself so far in his behalf, as to write pressing to Aly-verdy-qhan his uncle, entreating him to pardon the exiled commander, and to recall him into his service. Aly-verdy-qhan answered every part of the above letter, but mentioned not one word about my uncle; and Sáyd-ahmed-qhan, having lost all hopes from that quarter, thought proper in compliment to me, to write a letter with his own hand to that unhappy commander, in which he condoled with him upon his ill luck, but accompanied the condolence with

with an order on his banker at Banarees, for his touching five hundred rupees per month, four months of which were paid him before hand. Where are to be found now such sorts of men? where are they to be found in our days? where should they be? verse:

“ I never saw any myself: if thou knowest of any, pray, tell me.”

He is gone now from us, and gone for ever! nor have we any other way of testifying our gratitude for those numberless benefits which he has been endlessly spreading upon his people and his friends in general, and upon this disconsolate servant of his, in particular, than by remembering for ever his amiable character, and by pouring daily our fervent prayers to God Almighty, the pattern and spring of all goodness, that he may be an object of the divine mercy, *O God, take no notice, but of the good he has done: you know him better than we can. If he has done any good, give him the greater merit for it; and if he has been a sinner, turn your face from his demerites, and remember that you are the most merciful of all the merciful **.

It having been in the decrees of divine providence, that the columns of Aly-verdy-qhan's family should be undermined and thrown down, and that this revolution, as a chastisement, should extend directly, not only upon the incapable and worthless members of it, but also indirectly upon all the inhabitants of these once flourishing countries of Bengal and Bahar, and moreover upon all the inhabitants of Hindia, (which have all been involved in the fate of their princes); the catastrophe commenced by subtracting from the reigning family those individuals which by their personal merit might have propped the nodding edifice of all that power and dominion; and by their talents in the art of

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* These sentences are in the Coran, and form a part of the service for the dead.

government, might have employed one hand in crushing the disturbers of the public peace, and the other in insuring the happiness of these regions. But what is singular, that ~~disaffection~~, and that subtraction, took place in the very life time of the founder and architect of that empire and family: for it is certain that next to Aly-verdy-qhan himself, his three nephews, those three persons best qualified for commanding to men, and for governing kingdoms, were Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, and Sâyd-ahmed qhan, and Zin-ed-din-ahmed-qhan: three men far superior in those respects to those three grand sons of his, Seradj-ed-dôgla with his two brothers. Had any of the three former, succeeded to their uncle, and taken full possession of the sovereign power, it is indubitable that the downfall of these once flourishing provinces, with the consequent depression and ruin of their inhabitants, would have not come to pass with so much rapidity and precipitation as we have seen; but it being otherwise predetermined by the decrees of divine providence, and the course of heavenly bodies producing another series of events; those three persons departed this world under the eyes of the very man whom they were to succeed; so that, the sheets containing the diary of their lives were rolled up and set by in his very life time. Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, the third of those illustrious personages, and a prince who in personal prowess and capacity was so far superior to both his elder and younger brother, that he wanted to have the precedence over them both, preceded them in fact, and early departing this life, he took shelter in the mansions of divine mercy: a death that thunder struck Aly-verdy-qhan his uncle, and made him say with a deep fetched sob, *that if dominion and sovereignty had been decreed to last in his family, Habibet-Djung (for such was that hero's title) would have not died.* His death was followed by that of Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, who took the road of eternity, and treaded close on the steps of his younger brother. It is after all these losses, that the author of these recording sheets, becoming known to Aly-verdy-qhan, and being often of his company, heard him sob, and lament himself, and say that *Shahamet-djung's death (meaning Nevazish-mahmed-Qhan) affected him, not like that of a son, but like that of a fond indulgent parent: of some one that seemed to have nursed up the whole family.* After this death, the old Viceroy was looking up to Sâyd-ahmed qhan as his last resource; and I remember that the last letter he wrote to him was in these moving

ving terms : Now I am entirely broke both by age and by sorrow. If I live a little more, I shall in the next winter, (which was about six months after), repair on purpose to Radj-mahal, not on a hunting party, as formerly, but to feast my eyes for the last time with the sight of your person, which is now become my only remaning capital after all the heavy losses, and the ruinous bankruptcies I have suffered ; and if I am not to live so long, then hold me excused ; and he added these verses of his own, at the bottom of the letter :

" If we remain alive, we shall sew up again

" Our garment torne by the pangs of sorrow and absence ;

" And if we are to die, then accept our excuses.

" It would be a pity indeed, that our desire should be disappointed."

Nevazish-mahmed-ghan's demise was followed by that of his brother Sayd-ahmed-ghan, who himself became a traveller in the regions of eternity : that unhappy event took place in this manner. About two months after the demise of his elder brother, he by degrees commenced feeling an acute pain in his head, at a place that became prominent of itself : and he suffered and bemoaned, but otherwise was so healthy, that it never came into any man's mind that he would die of it. I, the poor man, apprehended, so little danger from it, that I obtained leave to repair to Moorshoodabad for condoling with my mother, who was inconsolable of Nevazish-mahmed-ghan's death. I payed my respects to Aaly-verdy-ghan at the same time, was charged with some messages to his nephew ; and I repaired again to B8raniah, where I delivered the messages, and found him still complaining of that head-ache, and suffering a particular pain whenever he had to roll his turbant round his head. A few days after he said to me, *that he thought that applying Leeches to his head would do him good* ; I answered " that losing some blood, and getting himself shaved, might afford him some relief." Two or three days after I observed that he had fixed his mind on the leeches, and was insisting on their

their being sent for: I took the liberty to object again: he payed no regard to my reasoning, and he added that some women said *that leeches were best, when their genitals seemed apparent*. I again presumed to reply, "that what old women said did not deserve his attention:" *that's true*, answered he, *but yet, there can be no harm in the application*. Finding him bent on having leeches, I kept silence; and as there is no flying from one's destiny, leeches were sent for, and applied: a deal of blood and watery matter came out, but every part where an application had been made, began to suppurate; and he now turned towards chirurgy: by degrees the whole neck swelled, and put on a strange appearance; and it seemed greatly tumefied: in short the swelling increased daily: and it was thought that the tumour being full of matter, it would be proper to procure an issue to it; and upon this surmise Bend-aaly the chirurgeon, was sent for, and ordered to open it. But fate having likewise blinded the chirurgeon, the man, without examining the part, without making any inquiry, without consulting the physicians, made a crucial incision upon the tumour in expectation of seeing the matter flow out; but not a drop appeared. He therefore according to the rules of his art, put on it a poultice of pounded green leaves of Nim*, and having bound the part with linen, he went away. At night some tokens of giddyness and swooning made their appearance: where upon he took away the linen from his neck, and drank some rose water, and some other strengtheners; and his pain abated: but he was exceedingly uneasy. Mean while his friends, and principal officers and dependants had filled the hall of audience; and some had pitched tents in the very yard where they were present day and night, together

* This is a tree with small dentated leaves, that produces a small yellow Berry of a sweetish taste: all Hindians make use of it in topical applications, often with singular success; and this practice of their's deserves more attention than the disdainful European is pleased to pay to it. It is a large tree of a fine green: the leave, exceedingly bitter, the tree lofty and of the forrest kind, the wood hard, brown and finely veined.

gether with the physicians. I was myself sitting close to the curtain, that parted the hall from the closet; and I lived and slept on some bedding which I had sent for. Roh-eddin-hosseïn-qhan, son to Séif-qhan, who had these many months become an ally of the distressed prince, slept close to me, together with my younger brother Naky-aaly-qhan, and the physician, Doctor-mefihî* and some other men of the art. There were over against me two learned men of the first rank, who had just arrived from Iran (or Persia) and who having been presented to the prince, had been so graciously received by him, that there was no doubt of his intending to give them some office adequate to their eminent merit: these were Aga-abdollah, the prince of the learned ones of Iran, who understood all sciences, and especially those of the speculative kind; and the learned and pious Séyd-mahmed-turbety: these two learned men were fond of conversing with me; and they passed every day some hours in my corner, putting up fervent prayers for the prince's preservation; but as there is no parrying the shafts of fate, the wound continued to look worse and worse, until at the beginning of the night on the 25th of Djemadi the first, some delirium made its appearance: the prince spoke some in coherent words, as if he had been a Gentoo. This strange appearance struck Sheh-mahmed-djehan-yar, who although one of his principal military commanders, was skilled in physick: for that art had been hereditary in his family, so as to be transmitted to him from his father; (and as he was now assisting the physicians, he cast a look at me, at the very moment I was turning my eyes towards him: not a word was uttered on either side; but he went away: at this sight, that throng of friends and persons of distinction, lost all hopes, it being concluded that the

* This word may be translated by those of *like the Messiah*, or of a *Messiah like breath*: for the Mohametans, who reckon *Yessab* or Jesus as one of their greatest prophets, and as the precursor of Mohammed, recount that his very breath restored to health those that chanced to be within its influence. Nor are those sounding titles extraordinary amongst physicians: they are given them by princes and sovereigns; and there has been at Moorshoodabad an *Astab-Nadiry* a sun incomparable.

Death of Séyd-
ahmed-ghan.

A.D. 1754.

the matter that had caused the swelling in the neck, had now struck up into the brain. At about the morning the prince himself feeling some thing new within his person, ordered the prisons to be set open, and charities to be distributed in abundance: he had hardly sent the order, when the veiled ones of the sanctuary commenced weeping and sobing; and it appeared that it was on account of his being in a swoon. It was now the second hour after day break; and this being the moment where he heard the call of his creator, he answered: *I am ready*, and departed towards the regions of eternity. It was the twenty-fifth of the first

Djemadi, in the year 1169, verse:

"The world has remained behind; but he carried with him all the good
; and "he had done."

Whilst he was in a swoon, the women of his household sent for the learned and pious men, that were in his service, desiring them to pronounce some prayers to make him recover from the fit. And on this, some of them went in, and observed that he was still taking in the two or three mouthfuls of air that were yet of his portion; but they returned immediately back, bathed in tears. Mir-abdol-hady, who understood the Arabic perfectly, and has left a book which proves that he composed in poetry as elegantly as he did in prose, went in with the others; and on casting his eyes upon him, he was so struck with the appearance, that he fell down senseless; some eunucks and some women took him up, and brought him into the hall, where he remained speechless and senseless. Being put into a chair and carried to his house, he seemed to recover his senses: but about two o'clock the next morning, he expired. May God's mercy and grace rest upon that worthy Séyd for ever! He was born at Dacca in Bengal, but bred and educated at Shah-djehan-abad, where he made a great proficiency in the sciences and the belle-letters: he was fond of poetry particularly, although writing prose with singularelegance. My blessed father sensible of his merit, had engaged

ed him to come to Azim-abad, for the purpose of educating my two younger brothers, Séyd-aly-qhan and Ghalib-aly-qhan, (to whom may this salute of mine be waisted); and as the Viceroy Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, who intended to marry one of this daughters to Séyd-aly-qhan, had taken him into his family, the illustrious Séyd was likewise taken into his family, entrusted with the young lord's education, and allowed a handsome pension. After Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan's death, he was carried to Bengal by Séyd-ahmed-qhan, who had taken with him all those learned men of Azim-abad, whose names have been mentioned a little above. Thither he followed that generous prince, and there he ended his days in that strange manner, which we have just seen. He was cautious of mixing or conversing with those he thought ill educated, being averse to their company; and he had such a relish for solitude, that he seldom mixed with others, but passed his time in reading, in meditating upon poetry, or in composing verses: he had a partiality for my conversation and company; and he used to compliment me with this expression, "that his case with me was upon a par with a poet who said to a connoisseur: *Sir, but for you, my poetry would remain without meaning.*"

The body of Séyd-ahmed-qhan was washed and purified by the pious Séyd Saleh, a friend of Séyd-mahmed-turbety's, who being freshly landed by the way of Calcutta, from the sublime gate of the tomb at Kerbelah, had just arrived at P8raniah, in company with the flower of the virtuous, the learned Aga-abdollah: they wrapped it up with a winding sheet, which he had brought from that sacred tomb; and those two venerable men having invited a numerous assembly of faithful, then present, to join with them in prayers, they performed the office of the dead over his corpse; and then taking it up, they carried it by turns to Djaaseri-bagh, a pleasant garden, where they committed it to the earth. As the two brothers, Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, and Séyd-ahmed-qhan, as well as their own uncle, Aly-verdy-qhan, died within the year, at a few months distance from each other, the chronogram which was composed for the first, might as well serve for the two others.

As soon as the deceased was carried to the grave, his eldest son Sháocat-djung, who had been a person of great weight and influence even in his father's life-time, came into the hall of audience, and pretending to be greatly affected and overcome with grief, he shed hypocritical tears, and, in token of desolation, threw his turbant on the ground. As I, the poor man, was reputed a person of consequence in his father's court, I thought it incumbent upon me to act a part in such a moment of distress; and taking it up therefore from the ground, I put it again upon his head, and rolled it properly; and then I made him sit down as chief mourner: after this I introduced the principal military commander Sheh-djehan-yar, with some other persons of distinction, who came to condole with him in the manner usual in Hindostan, to offer him their services, to profess their attachment to his person, and to desire his sitting on his father's Mesned, as heir to his dominions and estate. This being done, I engaged the young Prince to dismiss every one of them with promises of favor: a moment after I sent for a tent, got it pitched in the hall of audience, and appointed it for his sleeping place during three days. The second day in the morning, I waited upon him, and I could see plainly that he did every thing in his power to win my heart by his attentions: he observed that it would be proper to send a suppique to his grand-uncle; and he requested me to draw up the minute of it. His pleasure was complied with upon the spot; and the letter, being transcribed fair, was dispatched directly. But seventeen days before his nephew's demise, that Prince himself had fallen sick of that dropical distemper which soon carried him to his grave; and what is strange, his nephew at P8raniah, unaware how near he was himself to his own dissolution, was bemoaning, and sobing, and complaining of his ill luck in these very words: "Now that the time is come for my doing something, I am myself out of order." So little apprehensive was he of his approaching fate, that he gave a dress of encouragement to his agent, and sent him to Moorhoodabad with messages full of kindness to the principal military commanders, as well as to the grandees, of the court, and the principal citizens: re-

commending to him in the strongest terms to spare nothing in his endeavours to bring them over to his party. Good God! how ignorant, how unaware is man! but in fact this ignorance is one of the wheels that put in motion the pre-established order and government of this world: and were that ignorance less profound, and less compleat, it is evident that the world could not exist; nay to all appearance there would be an end of all religion, and an end of all thoughts on futurity. The letter made a deep impression on Aly-verdy-qhan: on reading the letter, he sobed greatly and said: *now that I have lost my feathers and wings, there remains nothing for me, but to repair to my maker.* Having said this in a mournful tone of voice, he answered the letter by condoling with the children of the deceased, and by recommending to Shaocat-djung in particular, to live upon good terms with his brothers, and with all the members of his father's family, as well as with all its dependants. The answer was accompanied by a dress of condolence for every one of the brothers; and with a patent of governor of P8rania, for Shaocat-djung, but under condition: that he should converse and cherish all his father's friends, take care of all his dependants and servants, and love his subjects as his own children." The letter was sent by his chief of the kitchen, Mirza-zin-el-aabedin. Shaocat-djung, who dreaded Aly-verdy-qhan's displeasure, seemingly complied with every one of the injunctions in the letter; and putting both his hands upon his eyes and head in token of chearful compliance, he promised to obey every one of those messages brought him verbally on the part of his great uncle: after which, he made a handsome present to the messenger, and sent him back satisfied and well disposed. All this being over, he in a favourable hour, ascended the chair of sovereignty; and as if he had waited only for such a moment, he made haste to give specimens of his profligacy and supineness. An elderly woman of the seraglio, whose name was Dai-c8il, and to whom the deceased, who was a connoisseur in merit, had given the title of *Dana-anhga* or the phoenix of wisdom, resigned the service that very day. She was a great friend of mine, and seemed to be so greatly attached

attached to me, that on the very day I resigned the service, she sent for me, and hearing of my resolution to quit P8raniah, she did all she could to dissuade me from such a step. " I look upon Shaòcat-djung, said she, to be my own child and son; and he is filling for me the place that had been filled by his father; but he seems to be disrobed of the garment of common sense: he is drunk with the wine of ignorance and supineness, and giddy with the fumes of youth and imprudence. Nevertheless do not forsake him: certainly you owe much to his father's memory, and not a little even to me, although I should be only one of your feeblest well-wishers; but after all, we have both acquired rights upon your gratitude: I am then of opinion that you ought out of regard to us, to take upon yourself the trouble of some office, such as that of Prime-minister, in order to inspect the affairs of revenue and government, and to take care of the correspondence with the Emperor and with Aly-verdy-qhan, as well as with the grandees of Bengal, and all the men in office in this province. On the other hand, I conceive Car-guzar-qhan to be a man of importance, as being these many years at the head of our army. Do then join together cordially to prevent Sò8let-djung's * name and family from going to wreck." I answered this lady, that what she said, was reasonable and proper; but you know, added I, that Shaòcat-djung will never consent to all that: and on the contrary, that he will listen only to the giddy and the profligate that throng about his person, ready to jump head-long into whatever is likely to promote the ruin of his family, as well as his own. All what you propose, is reasonable; but all that cannot be done without the master's consent; and we are nothing but servants." As that worthy woman was full of sense, she acknowledged the probability of what I said, and approved of my shyness. A few days after Sâyd-ahmed-qhan's demise, I obtained a bounty of five thousand Rupees

* This was Sâyd-ahmed-qhan's title; and it signifies the impetuous in wars.

rupees for the learned Aga-abdollah, of whom we have already spoken, and another of a thousand for the glorious Séyd Mir-mahmed; and having put those sums in their hands, and got them dismissed with honour, I obtained leave myself, and resigned the service. The lady in question hearing of my final resolution thereon, sent me five thousand rupees, to bear the charges of my journey. She was a woman of uncommon understanding; and although low born, and from one of the lowest clans of Catec, she had so far acquired her master's good opinion, as to be entrusted with the government of the whole of his household, in which she managed with the utmost fidelity the treasures deposited in her custody; and yet behaved with so much condescendence and so much inclination to do good, that out of thousands of officers, civilians, revenue-collectors, dependants, and pensioners and servants, few, very few must be those that she did not oblige as often as opportunity served; and few those who in the difficult emergencies of their situations did not recur with fruit to her interposition. She knew how to manage in such a manner, as to merit her master's approbation, as well as that of every person in the household; indeed of every man in office. She left an excellent character behind, and has been universally regretted.

To return to myself, I quitted P8raniah, and went to Caran-golah, with intention to proceed to Azim-abad; when I learned that Aly-verdy-qhan was dead, and that Seradj-ed-dò8lah, his grand-son, had quietly been acknowledged in the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and 8ressa. On this intelligence I thought it best to tarry at Caran-golah in order to hear how the new prince managed with the people of God; as such a knowledge might enable me to take my resolution accordingly, or as time and opportunity should point out. Mean while I heard that my two younger brothers, Sèyd-aly-qhan and Ghalib-aly-qhan, and also my kind maternal uncle Vehab-aly-qhan, (which latter was of my age), had been banished out of the province of Azim-abad, where they all lived: this intelligence prevented my going to that city myself; and as the village of Caran-golah was not a place
where

where one might pass the rainy-season, fain I was to return to P8raniah, and to take my quarters again in the house I had quitted. And now to follow the order of events, the historian's faithful pen must revert to Aly-verdy-qhan's demise, and give an account of Seradj-ed-dó8lah's taking possession of the sovereignty of these rich provinces, and how this event has ushered the ruin of all Hindostan, by putting it in the power of strangers to possess themselves of the most extensive and populous provinces of that region. It is only after giving some idea of that event, that we shall resume in a proper place what concerns Sháocat-djung.

A.D. 1756.

We have said that Aly-verdy-qhan, fell into a dropical habit of body on the ninth of the first Djemadi in the year 1169. He strove for some time to ward off the evil by a total abstinence from water; but afterwards on observing that such a distemper, when attacking a person of his age, always proved incurable (and he was then in his eightieth year) he ceased to observe any diet, or to abstain from water, or to take remedies. Such a state of things could not but greatly alarm Biby Gabassity, his eldest daughter, who was now relict of his nephew Nevazish-mahmed-qhan. She had this long while cantoned herself at Moty-djil, where on seeing how matters went, she had distributed elephants and lacs of rupees, to the troops of her deceased husband, in hopes of engaging them to stand by her, against Seradj-ed-dó8lah. She received their solemn promises, and took their oaths. When reverses are at hand, they engage into such liberalities. It is reported that on it becoming public that Aly-very-qhan was drawing to his end, some of the principal persons of the city, fearful of what might happen after his decease, requested to be recommended to Seradj-ed-dó8lah, by putting their hand within his: the old man smiled at the request, and said, "*if you perceive after my death that he has been for three days together upon good terms with his grand-mother, then you or any others may have a chance for yourselves.*" So well did he know the man's character. After having said these words, he lived to the

Saturday

Saturday following, which was the ninth of the month of Redjeb in the year 1169; and at five o'clock in the morning, he departed this life, and repaired to the mansions of divine mercy. Immediately after his departure his principal servants and relations assembled, and after having purified his body, and wrapped it up in a winding sheet, they took it up at midnight, and carried it, pursuing his own appointment, to the feet of his mother, which is entombed at Qhosh-bagh on that side of the river opposite to Moty-djill. *O lord! Should you punish him, no wonder, for he is your creature, and culprit; and should you forgive him, no wonder, for you are the most merciful of the merciful*.*

Aaly-verdy-qhan from his very youth shewed a serious turn of mind, averse from profligacy and debauch, and from every thing that favored of drunkenness; nor did he seem to have much taste for such amusements as music and dancing, or for the conversation of women; he preferred to pass his time in reciting prayers, in reading the word of God, or in perusing some book of history; and he has affirmed more than once that he had never been guilty of fornication or of drinking wine: for he bore a mortal aversion to those two defilements. He always rose two hours before day-light; and after having gone through the usual evacuations and ablutions, he performed some devotions of supererogation, and at day break he said his prayers of divine precept, and then drank coffee with some choice friends: at seven o'clock he went out and sat in state in the hall of audience, where he listened to the representations of his military officers, of his civil officers, of all the persons in office, and of the grandees of his court, giving audience and a patient hearing to all comers whatever; and any one could speak to him as long as he pleased. Every one represented his affairs, and received such an answer as his case required; in general such a one as was dictated by

* This prayer is in Arabick, and part of the service for the dead.

by goodness and a firm intention to oblige. This audience always lasted two hours, after which he retired into a closet, where he was attended by some persons who were to attend at that place, for instance by some choice friends, and by his relations, such as Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, Sáyd-ahmed-qhan, and also by Séradj-ed-dó8lah, if present: after that, he amused himself for a full hour with conversation, with hearing verses, reading poetry, or listening to some pleasing story; to which we must add some occasional orders, which he would give about some dish or other, which was always dressing in his presence at that time: to the care of which was appointed either some of the persons then present, or some person freshly come from Persia, or any other country renowned for good cookery; for he was fond of good eating, and had a taste very nice and very delicate. Some times he ordered the meat, spice, and other necessaries, to be brought in his presence, and he gave his orders to his cooks, often directing them, and often inventing some new method of proceeding: mean while the heads of office, and the gentlemen and noblemen of the hall of audience were in full attendance, to be occasionally introduced, whenever they had any thing to say. As soon as the cooking and dressing was over, the butler presented himself with a number of qhóans or trays and tables covered with all kinds of dishes, and he spread a large napkin: the tables covered with victuals were sent to such of his friends, as he chose to distinguish, always adding some thing from those dishes which had been dressed under his direction. At dinner the conversation ran upon the good or bad taste of each dish in particular, reasoning nicely upon their several flavours, and taking himself a mouth full and no more, from every one. The dinner being over, his guests washed their hands and withdrew; and this way of never eating but with a numerous company of guest, was his custom: it was in general in a company of men; but now and then he chose to dine in the sanctuary, and then he had a like company of women, but not one of them, a stranger: being all his daughters, grand-daughters, or nieces or relations. After dinner he retired into a closet to
take

take a nap; at which time the story tellers and bed-watchmen attended and did their office*. At about one o'clock he was awake, and after the usual evacuations and ablutions, he performed his purification and his noon-prayers: and these being over, he read with a high voice a chapter of the Coran†, and then performed his afternoon prayers; after which they brought him a cup full of water, cooled with salt petre or with ice‡ according to the season, and he drank it off at a single draught; which single draught answered all his necessities, without any addition whatever, for full twenty-four hours. After this, the curtain of the room being folded up, a number of pious and learned men were introduced, such as that prince of learning, the learned Mir-mahmed-aally-fazyl, (may God perpetuate his honors)! Naky-c8ly-qhan; Doctor Hadi-qhan, the physician; Mirza-hóssein-sefevi, and another learned man from M8ltan, whose name I have forgotten: all these being introduced with respect, were honored with a request to be seated; in general he attended to these learned assemblies in a hall set a part for that purpose: over against his own Mesned, but on the opposite side of the hall, another Mesned was always spread for Mir-mahmed-aally-fazyl, with a large pillow at the back of it. (That learn-

ed

* In a country where there are so few books, and were not one man in a thousand, can read, and not one in a million has any inclination to read, story-telling becomes a profession very useful to great men, but for what? to learn some thing? no: only to lull them to sleep.

† It is unlawfull to read the Coran in any other manner than with the voice, and the higher the voice, the greater the merit.

‡ The mountains or rather hills of Rahj-mahl, at three or four days North West of Moorhoodabad, produce natural Ice to the thickness of a shilling; but besides such ice, the Indians have a method of manufacturing artificial ice with boiled water (and no other) exposed the whole night to a still weather, where it congeals in plates of earth to the thickness of a crown. But, (a striking singularity)! This boiled water needs be sheltered from the wind, not only by sinking the plates in an excavation two feet deep, where they are rauged in rows, but also by screening it with matts of straw. This ice is manufactured from November to February; and when a sufficient quantity has been procured, it is thrown in heaps, and rammed down in a closet made up of thick walls with a door made fast, and thick covered with straw: nay the closet itself is further defended from the heat by an additional roof of straw, rising some feet above the other.

*Thus
take
ice
the only
no such
thing was
in a few*

ed gentleman used always to come into the palace by the water-gate, that being the nearest :) As soon as his Paleky had landed him at the rails of the terrace, which is on a level with the main hall, (a privilege granted only to three persons more, all princes of the blood), and he had commenced ascending the steps towards the audience hall, which is not a small distance, Aaly-verdy-qhan used to rise, (and to stand upon his own Mesned, waiting his walking in. When the learned man had advanced so far towards the hall, as to leave his slippers, and he had entered into the hall (and this was a vast spacious building), then the Viceroy quitted his Mesnud and advanced some steps: and having made him a respectful bow, the salute was returned in the same style by the learned man, who went and took his seat at the Mesned prepared for him. After his being seated, Aaly-verdy-qhan returned to his own Mesned, and resumed his seat; and then, he sent him a small pillow, one of the four always placed on the right and left of the prince's mesned. Immediately after, the *Hoccas* * of Mir-mahmed-aaly-fazyl, of Naky-c8ly-qhan, of Doctor Hadi-qhan, and of Mirza-hoffein-sefévi, were brought in, and presented to them. Aaly-verdy-qhan himself never smoked, but he drank coffee, and it was distributed round. Coffee being drank, a pillow was placed before the learned Mol-tani, and then a Coran was set upon it; being one of those written by Sheh-mah-med, son to Yac8b-Calini or the Calinian. It was a copy of one of those exemplaries, which having been drawn up according to the rules of the *Imamites*, and then presented to the *Lord of Command*, who approved them with the word *Caafi* † which he wrote underneath, were ever after reputed authentic, and called by that epithete.

* The pipe which is an instrument so plain as well as clean with Europeans, and so slovenly rich and costly with the Turks, is with the Indians an apparatus called *Hocca* (Hoocaw by the Europeans) but of an ingenuity, elegance and cleanness, that would inspire an inclination to smoke even to those who naturally detest the very smell of tobacco in any shape. See the remark 120, section 11th.

† *Sufficient*. The Corans of the two sects differ only in two words, and these two upon only the ablution of the feet. The *Imamites* or Pontificals, are the Shyahs, as they style themselves; for the

epithete. The learned M8ltany read one or two chapters of it, translating at the same time, phrase after phrase; and the niceties and difficulties in those chapters were occasionally elucidated and explained by the Lord Mir-mahmed-aaly the learned. Some times Aly-verdy-qhan himself would offer a question, or ask about some particular passage; in which case he was answered by Mir-mahmed-aaly-fazyl. These conferences and readings always lasted two hours; after which the Lord-féyd rose, and Aali-verdy-qhan having as usual advanced some steps, made him a respectful bow, and remained standing until the Lord had put on his slippers, and was advancing to his Paleky: at which time he returned to his Mesned, and resumed his seat. The learned men being departed, the chiefs of offices, the general intelligencer, and the rich banker Djagat-seat with some others, attended, and read or mentioned the news of every part of Hindia; or they reported such statements and revenue matters, as had remained from the morning audience; and this second audience likewise took up two full hours. Some times Neva-zish-mahmed-qhan attended; and some times it was Sáyd-ahmed-qhan, if in town; and some times Seradj-ed-dó8lah. These being departed, the room was instantly filled by a number of facetious persons and other *bonmots* people, such as Mirza-shemseddin; Mirza-zin-el-abedin, the butler; Mirza-cazem, chief holsterer, and chief of the candle and oil-office; Mir-djevad-cooch-beghy: and the Hermaphrodite Mahm8d,* with some others of that stamp; and for about two hours

the word *Sbyah* signifies *separatistes* or schismatics. The *Lord of Command*, is no other than that same *Imam-Mehdi* who disappeared under one of the last Qhalifs of the house of Abbass, but is to appear again at the end of the world, to convert all mankind to the true sect, that is, to the *Sbyism* or *Imanism*.

* Mahm8d-hedjra. He was introduced in the hall, not as a curiosity of the Hermaphrodite kind (for the species is so common in India, as to pass totally unnoticed) but only as a cracker of jokes and sarcasms. There are three sorts of men who bear the name of *Hedjra* or Hermaphrodite in India: those that are naturally so, by having the two sexes full and distinct, one over the other, or one within the other; or only in part; or a confused meddley of both. This is the first class. The second, called *Hedjra* likewise, and also

hours together he amused himself with their craking jokes upon each other, and with their mutual satyres. By this time it becoming dusky, the taper-bearers and candle-lighters, presented themselves in order with their implements, lighted * as is the Hindostany custom, and from the farther end of the yard made their bows, and then repaired to their stations. It was at that particular time that the Viceroy made his nightly prayer; and the hall being cleared of men, and made *womaniſh* †, his confort attended, together with Seradj-ed-dó8lah's confort, and some other princeſſes of his family which came to ſee him; and as Aly-verdy-qhan never ſupped, but only ate ſome fruit, a quantity of freſh or dried fruits with a quantity of ſweet-meats, was preſented to him, of which he ate a little, deſiring the ladies to partake of the entertainment; and in general he diſtributed to each her ſhare. This repaſt being over, the ladies retired, and the hall being made *manniſh* again, it was immediately filled with the officers of the guard, the bed-warchmen, and the ſtory-tellers; at which time he uſed to get upon his bed, where the latter lulled him to ſleep. After having ſlept two or three hours, he would

alſo Zenana, or feminine, are a ſpecies of young men *born* impotent, with tall ſlender bodies, and beardless faces; and although one would think that ſuch a condition has nothing attracting in itſelf, yet are there people (and ſuch is the depravity of mankind) that force themſelves into it, and bring themſelves under the denomination of *Hedjras* by art; this being the third claſs: Theſe are young men that aſſimilate themſelves to that deplorable appearance, or have been emaculated by their unnatural parents; and this is done by twiſting and wringing and tormenting the part ſeveral times a day, in a courſe of ſeveral months or even years. All theſe (who would believe it)? have female inclinations, wear a female drefs; and there is at Lucnow a whole lane inhabited by thoſe wretches—and this is all that decency allows me to ſay on that head.

* Even ſo late as Aly-verdy-qhan the court of Moorſhoodabad burned nothing but oil, in lamps of gold and ſilver, although there is plenty of wax in Bengal, where it is made up by wild bees. Nor was any other thing uſed in all the courts of India. It is the battle of Palaſſy, and its conſequences that have introduced wax-candles every where.—The implements mentioned here were nothing but rags, occaſionally beſprinkled with oil.

† The adjectives *manniſh* and *womaniſh*, have been conſerved, or rather coined here, to ſave a circumlocution, which would have made the phraſe languish; and alſo to give the reader a glimpſe at the eaſtern phraſe, and at the Hindoſtany idiom on that particular occaſion.

would awake, and ask what hour it was? and who was present? and being answered accordingly, he took another nap, waking and asking by turns three or four times every night. But at all times he was awake and up, two hours before the dawn of the day, to recommence that circle of evacuations and occupations which we have been just describing. He was so bountiful in rewarding his servants, and in obliging his ministers his relations, and all those that could approach him, that his character in that respect is almost beyond belief. He remembered every one of the friends, and acquaintances he had ever had at Shah-djehan-abad, and such especially as had obliged him in his days of distress and poverty; and whenever he could discover any of these or any of their children or of their descendants, he never failed to send for them from that capital, and to make them such presents, or to promote them to such offices, or to put such emoluments in their way, as they had never so much as dreamed of. And when those he had enriched in this manner, came to die, he took such care of their widows, children and heirs, as no man in these hard times, and none even in times past, ever took of his own relations. His administration was so full of lenity, and his attention so intense to the security and quiet of the subject, and of the husbandman especially, that none of them can be said to have been so much at their ease on their father's knees, or in their mother's lap; nor was there a man in office with him, without excepting his very menial servants, that did not make fortunes by lacs: for although he did not shew much inclination for such accomplishments, as dancing and singing, or for an intimate society with women, he had an inclination for all other kinds of pleasures and pass-times, and knew how to reward those that excelled in them: he understood arts, was fond of exquisite performances, and never failed to shew his regard to the artistes. Fond of the pass time of a witty conversation, he was himself excellent company; so far, as to be hardly equalled by any of his contemporaries. A prudent, keen, general, and a valorous soldier, there are hardly any qualifications which he did not possess; and few are the virtues which shall not be found to have made part of his character.

Singular

Singular instances of his prudence and foresight may be easily remembered to this day. About the latter end of his reign Nizam-el-mulk came to die, and his son, Nasyr-djung, having succeeded him in all his dominions, chanced to be killed by a conspiracy of the Afghans in his service, as he was marching against the French of P8lchurry: this was compassed by Muzafer-djung, who was son to his sister; and had come to an agreement with those strangers, by whom he was vigorously supported. But the new prince being slain soon after, as well as the Afghan conspirators, he was succeeded at the time by Séyd-mahmed-qhan-Selabet-djung, who by the assistance of these same French was seated upon the throne of Decan: revolution memorable which rendered M8shur B8shi * the man of the upper-hand, and put it in his power to write a very lofty pompous letter to Aly-verdy-qhan, with the purpose of recommending the French of Farash-danga †. This letter, although slighted, made in fact a great impression upon his mind; and as he knew with how sparing a hand providence had bestowed on Seradj-ed-dò8lah his share of knowledge and prudence; and he was fully sensible of the manner he would govern the people of God, and upon what bad terms he was already with the Military officers, as well as how prone he seemed to fall out with the English of Calcutta; he used to compare his character and turn of mind to that of Nasyr-djung, and to assure in full company that as soon as himself should be dead, and Seradj-ed-dò8lah should succeed him, the *bat-men would possess themselves of all the shores of Hindia*. As I was myself in Seradj-ed-dò8lah's service, and fully apprised of his turn of mind, as well as often in his company, and that of his grand-father's, I remember to have heard that assertion from
that

* Monf. de Buffy, since Marquis de Buffy.

† The natives of Bengal, calling the French *Farashis*, whilst the lowest amongst them maim that word into that of *Farashish* and *Farash*; Chander-nagur, or rather Chundun-nagur, the French town in Bednagal, is come to be designed by no other appellation than that of *Farash-danga*, the French point of land, or if you will, the upholsterer's head of land; for *Farash* is Hindostany for upholster and pitcher of tents.

that prince's own mouth: nor is my testimony a slight one: it will be supported by several persons, then present, to whom I shall refer; and in fact the prediction came to be verified just, as his mind had foreseen. On account of this singular prediction, I remember that this prince being then in the zenith of his power, his general Mustepha-qhan, who had a boundless influence upon his mind, proposed to him to take Calcutta, and to put all the English to the sword: No answer was given to the proposal: the general brought it forward at another time, but with the support and recommendation of the Viceroy's two sons-in-law: and no answer was given again; but as soon as Mustepha-qhan was gone, he said to the two advisers: "*My dear children, Mustepha-qhan is a soldier of fortune, and a man in monthly pay, who lives by his sabre; of course he wishes that I should always have occasion to employ him, and to put it in his power to ask favours for himself and friends; but in the name of common sense, what is the matter with your own selves, that you should join issue with him, and make common cause of his opinion? what wrong have the English done me, that I should wish them ill? look at yonder plain covered with grass: should you set fire to it, there would be no stopping its progresses; and who is the man then who shall put out a fire that shall break forth at sea, and from thence come out upon land? beware of lending an ear to such proposals again: for they will produce nothing but evil.*"

VOLUME THE FIRST,
OF THE
SËIR MUTAQHERIN.

CONTENTS OF THIS EIGHTH SECTION;

BEING

THE LAST OF THAT VOLUME.

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A

officers

officers want to rescue him.—Mir-djaaser-qhan takes possession of the palace, where his son governs absolutely.—Abominable character of that young man.—Seradj-ed-dó8lab barbarously murdered, by his order.—Affecting narrative of his death.—End of the first Volume.

THE course of our history requires now, that before we part with Aaly-verdy-qhan, we give some account of the learned and pious men that lived in his court and in his dominions; or who, coming on the report of his munificence, had just time to see him, before his death.

THE foremost of them was the Moluvy, or Doctor Naffyr, a native of Sheh-p8ra, and a descendant of Shemseddin, the *Complaint-promoter*, whose tomb and monument are in great repute in the province of A8d. The Moluvy's grand-father had quitted the place of his native country, to come and settle in that town, in the province of Bahar; and in his youth, that is in the times of the Navvab Sháístah-qhan the Forgiven, he had been a disciple of Mollah-sheh-mahmed Shirazi, a learned man, who after having passed some time in Bengal, had quitted India, and returned to his beloved country, which had been all this while the constant object of his regrets. The disciple, who was enthusiastically attached to his master, and to the Sciences, quitted both friends and country to follow him into Iran; and such was his attachment to his studies, that although he was so distressed, as to travel all the way on foot, from India to Iran, he never missed a day's lesson. Arrived in Iran, he attended to the lessons of the masters of that country, until he became himself a complete proficient in the whole circle of Sciences, especially in the speculative ones; such as Astronomy, Mathematics, and Algebra: so that become himself now a man of character and renown, he passed his days in Iran, in honor and affluence: he afterwards came to Cab8l, where he

was

was employed as Second, in carrying messages to the Iranian Governors and Grandees of that frontier, as that employment had been lately declined by Mir-gh8lam-mahmed the Mehadian, a man of great eminence, and incomparable learning, who had been hitherto employed in those negotiations, and had more than once served the famous Emir-qhan, as a mediator in his differents with the neighbouring powers. Moluvy-Naffyr, after a long stay in that country, returned to India; and having obtained from the Emperor a small Djaghir or free-hold in the province of Bahar, his native country, he settled at Azim-abad, where the house he has raised is still standing, and was, according to his will, left to his grand-son Mahmed-hassen-qhan, who inhabits the same to this day.

THE second of those eminent men was Dà8d-aaly-qhan, better known, under the name of Zàir-hoffëin-qhan. He was the eldest son of Moluvy-naffyr; equal to him in the practical sciences, which he had learned from him; and superior to him in the spiritual ones, which he held only from himself. At his father's death, he was appointed not only his universal and sole heir, by a bill of sale in due form; but also acknowledged as his executor. Nevertheless, without availing himself of those deeds, he had the generous equity to make an equal division of the paternal estate between all the members of his family; and it was such as would have been otherwise required by the laws of God: keeping only such a share to himself as he might have been intitled to, in that case. After having in this manner arranged his affairs, he felt himself fired with a desire of visiting (*b*) the gate of the Pontif of the World, of beholding the completion of Musalmanism (*c*), and of kissing the threshold of that door which is watched by hosts of Angels, that is, the luminous monument of the Prince of Prophets (*d*) upon whom, as well as upon his pure offspring, be salut and grace, to all eternity! After having enjoyed, to his heart's content, that measure of happiness, after which his heart had so long panted, he returned

(*b*) Nedjef, alias C8fah. (*c*) Mecca; (*d*) Medina.

to the place of his nativity, where he passed his time in assisting the Séyds and necessitous, and in serving his God, by obliging his creatures. In the number of causes daily brought before him for his decision, (for he was both a Casuist and a Magistrate) his sole view was to cut the different short, to the satisfaction of both parties; always contenting himself with his legal fees; and this small pittance, joined to his portion of the paternal estate, he managed with so much industry and economy, as to live honorably himself, whilst he proved a sure resource to the needy and necessitous, and especially to the forsaken widow, and the forlorn orphan, all which he constantly admitted, in great numbers, at his table (a) partaking of a simple fare in their company, without pretending to live better by himself in private; and it would be difficult on that subject to give him all the praises he deserves; nor does the Historian make any difficulty to acknowledge the impotence of his tongue, on that extensive article. We ought also to observe that on his return from having kissed the sacred and sublime thresholds, he altered his name from Dä8d-aali-qhan, which he had, to that of Zâir-

(a) This part of the text, which is very plain for an Indian, would be very obscure for an European, without a note. The tables spread in India are nothing but a painted cloth, or even a white cloth, of the form of a long square; for instance ten feet in length by four or five in breadth, spread upon a carpet of leather, brought with it for that purpose; or more commonly, upon the carpeting or mat of the room. The master of the house sits on the ground, for instance on the Northern part, with a dozen or more or less small dishes for his own self; and there may be two other such assortments spread on both sides of him, for two guests, and also two more or four, for as many guests more, which we shall suppose sitting on the Western and Eastern sides of the napkin. But below those four guests, the number of dishes go on diminishing in each assortment, until they reach the Southern side; and there the number shrinks to two or three, and these too of an inferior sort very often, as being destined for people of a very different station. A man, shocked at so much rusticity, observed, that if those people were worth the Navvab's company, they were worth his victuals also; and if not his victuals, they were not worth his company neither, and, of course, ought not to sit at all. He was answered, *Not so, Sir; we are not such beard-bearded men as the Frengbis: and what for is a man to be a Navvab, if he is not distinguished by better victuals, and in greater quantity, than his Courtiers?* "Well, let him eat them all to himself, in his closet, in private; then "I shall have no objections to his eating amber-gris and pounded pearl." (this is sometimes done) *What? So great a man to eat alone, with not a few dependants about him!*

hosséin-qhan

hosséin-qhan (22), which he assumed, constantly glorying in the alteration. After a glorious life of seventy years, he repaired to the mansions of Divine Mercy; and it was observed that at the moment of rendering the ghost, after a virtuous life in which he had been invariably serving his God, he had that adorable name in his mouth; and that he breathed his last in pronouncing the words, ô God! may the Almighty's mercy rest upon him for ever!

THE third person was Mir-mahmed-aalim, one of the most virtuous and most venerable persons of Azim-abad; as well as a disciple of Mirza-móez-moosevi-qhan, the Poet, His knowledge was in much repute, and his compositions in much esteem and celebrity; but I cannot speak properly of them, having no personal knowledge of either.

THE fourth was the Moluvy, or Doctor Mahmed-aaref; one of the most learned men of his time, and one of those men fond of corners and retirement. He was reported to have an excellent character; but he died in the first years of Aaly-verdy-qhan's taking possession of Bengal, and he was entombed in the Castle of Azim-abad, where he had always resided. One of his disciples, called Shah-gurg (23) or Saint Wolf, was a pious man, (seeking God), whom I have often seen. He lived in solitude and celibacy, at a distance from the world; and he spent his time in prayer.

THE fifth was Mir-rustem-aaly, a man satisfied with his corner; but not destitute of science and erudition. This is, at least, the character given him by the persons that much frequent religious men. I knew him but little:

(23) These whimsical names ought not to surprise the reader: these Fakirs, on devoting themselves to such a life, always assume fantastical titles, as well as fantastical dresses. There has been at Ilah-abad such a man as *Shah-cootta*, or Saint Dog; and such a woman, or Fakirnee, as *Shah-coottee*, Saint Bitch; and we have seen at Moorshoodabad *Shah-abdesb-shéitan*, or Saint Servant of the Devil; Nay his very successor was *Shah-Shéitan*, Saint Devil.

but he passed for a man versed in the sense of the Coran, and capable of all the subtilties of explanation. He died at Azim-abad, in Ram-nârain's government, and lies buried close to the spot called the monument of Mir-afzyl, the Cashmirian merchant. It was for this following reason: The Merchant, who intended to embrace the same kind of life, and was attached to him personally, got him buried in that spot which he had bought for his own burial; and on his death-bed, he ordered that himself should be buried at his feet.

THE sixth was Shah-mahméd-aamin, who lived in celibacy; a man much versed in the sense of the Coran, and so very intelligent as to be inferior only to an Angel. Intent, both interiorly and exteriorly, on the service of his God, he seemed to be brim-full of the rays of the love of his Maker. In his actions and words he seemed to have no other view than that of concentrating his own self in the love of the Eternal Being, and in a boundless attachment to the Infinite One. His words and actions made so much impression on the mind, that I, the Poor Man, having gone, on the fame of his character, to render him a visit, felt within myself, on entering his dwelling, such a disgust at the avocations of this world, and so strong an inclination for abandoning this borrowed habitation, and for addicting myself henceforward to the love of God only, that I was nearly taking my last resolution on that subject. He passed the nights in adoration and mortification, always awake; sleeping hardly one hour's time by day. His dwelling was endlessly thronged by visitors; but he was so intent on the object of his love, and he pronounced the ejaculation, "*O my beloved!*" in such a manner; he fetched such deep sighs, and drew from his breast such moving sobs, that the hearts of the by-standers were set on fire. He was not deficient in learning; but his master Shah-mahmed, was famous at Azim-abad for miracles and prodigies. Although fully learned himself, he avoided explaining the higher sciences and difficult passages; for whenever his temper softened (and he was somewhat rough and passionate) he would read lectures publickly.

THE seventh of those eminent men was Shah-adhem; and the eighth, Háiat-beg. They seemed to have intirely forsaken the world, and to be fantastical in their actions and characters: people recount miracles and great things of them; but the truth of this is only known to God.

The ninth was Shah-qhyzr (or Saint Green) (24): a religious of great distinction, who lived in Saad-p8r, a town of the distict of Befara: he was abrupt, and sudden, as well as singular in his actions; but numbers of men of sense that used to frequent him, are full in praising his high character; and many attribute miracles and prodigies to him, in so positive a tone of voice and with so much firmness, as to overwhelm all doubt.

THE tenth, is the illustrious Séyd-mir-mahmed-sedjad, or Mir-mahmed, the Prostrer, who by his virtues brought in mind, all the merits of his illustrious ancestors. Having once chosen to live as a monk or religious, he became a personage of high repute, although he did not value the world more than he did a straw. He was an intimate friend of my forgiven father, under whose auspices he had commenced a poem on what concerns the other world. He was a man of knowledge, understood many sciences, and had so many valuable qualifications, besides, that both tongue and pen would fail in enumerating them at length. We have seen a book of his composition: it gives an insight into the heights to which his mind had soared; nor can it fail to give a high opinion of his merit to any one that will peruse it. After my father's departure for Shah-djehan-abad, there intervened a sincere friendship between this venerable man, and the glorious grand-father of me, this most inconsiderable of mankind: They seemed inseparable. This worthy man, intended to enter in the army, and to acquire the merit of fighting the infidels; but he died before he could execute his design, nor do I remember of the year of his death; else,

(24) Eliah having been taken up to Heaven in a fiery cart, is deemed alive by the Arabs, who therefore call him, the *Green* or *Verdant*; nor is he known all over the East by any other name, than that of *Qhydyr*, *Qhadja-qhydyr*, the Lord Verdant.

I would mention it. May God have joined him to his pious ancestors, and may he have assigned him a place in his merciful mansions!

THE eleventh, was the grand-father of this vilest of men, namely, Séyd-aalim-ollah, the Tebateba, who descended from Hassen, elder son to grand-son of the Prophet, and came from the place of his burial (25); and were we to mention all his virtues and merits, the mention would require a volume by itself. Suffice it to say, that he arrived at Azim-abad, in the year 1155 of the Hedjra; and in the month of Shaaban of the next year, he departed towards the mansions of the divine mercy. The mortifications and austerities he underwent, and the miracles and prodigies he operated, and of which I have been a witness with thousands of others, (because they were always performed in open day and in public), are all taken notice of in a piece of poetry of mine, entitled the *Nature of the Pontife*. Most of them shall be found there.

THE twelfth, is the glorious Shah-háideri, maternal uncle to my paternal grand-mother: he was bluntly attached to the sect of Shyiahs, and no ways inclined to spare the opposite sect. Resigned in his fortune, and satisfied with his estate, he was haughty and overbearing to the proud, but full of modesty and deference with the poor and the humble; and here is a proof of it. Ecber-c8ly-qhan, father to the late Mirza-iredj-qhan, which latter was father-in-law to Sradj-eddö8lah, having engaged him by dint of intreaties and importunities to accompany him into Bengal, he settled at Bagalpoor, a town for which he took a liking. It happened at that time, that the famous general Mahmed-ghö8fs-qhan was ill, and of a distemper that grew to such a height, that all the by-standers, as well as himself, had despaired of his life. Shah-háideri, who hated the man's sect, but loved his person, and highly valued his military talents, and heroical prowess, went to see him; and he bound himself to restore him to full health, if

(25) The place of Hassen's burial is Medina, ten days north of Mecca: that of his younger brother Hosséin, is Kerbelah, at three day's journey, west of Bagdad.

he would but embrace the tenets of the Shyism (26), the condition was accepted; and the dying man having recovered his health, became so attached to Shah-háidery, that he turned his disciple, with all his children, and his whole family; and always paid him the highest regard. Matters remained on that footing, until the general was slain with his master Ser-efraz-qhan, at the battle of Gheriah; upon which intelligence, Shah-háideri quitting his domicile of Bagalpoor, came to Moorshoodabad, where he loaded Aly-verdy-qhan with bitter reproaches, for his black ingratitude: reproaches, which he bore patiently; nor did there come any word from that Prince's mouth, but such a favoured humility and submission (26). The pious man went into the field of battle, where after having exhumed Ghó8fs-qhan's body, as well as those of his children, together with the few companions of his that had chosen to die with their heroic general, he carried them to Bagalpoor, where he committed the whole to the earth; and dying himself some years after, he was buried close to the general, his friend. Shah-djaafry, his son, with less bluntness of zeal, and more modesty, than his father, or his equals, lived in silence, in contentment, in resignation, and in the oblivion of the delights and incitements of the world; but nevertheless he was so much esteemed by Aly-verdy-qhan, and by his children, that they prided in shewing him the utmost regard: nevertheless he never departed from the humility of his condition. but lived poor and like a real monk: only whenever he intended to intercede for others, he then applied to the great ones, but it

(26) If the embracing the sect, should consist in no more than in proffering a certain form of belief, people would take no offence at it; but the main article, to which the new profelyte is obliged, consists in giving foul language and imprecations, to the three first successors of Mahomet, and indeed his best friends and staunch protectors, to wit Ab8-beer, Omar, and Osman. Hence those animosities between the two sects: the Sunnies being tolerant, and the Shyaks intolerant.

(26) The reader may see in this single instance, amongst many others, traces of the profound veneration, with which fakirs are beheld in India: this veneration goes so far, that even Christian missionaries, who by the singularity of their air and garb, are reputed European fakirs, come in for a share of it's effects.

was in such a manner, as to shew he did not value their grandeur more than a straw. It happened at some time that Yessen-qhan, Fodjar of Bagalpoor had put an end to the pensions paid by that department to poor necessitous people; but had not touched to that of Shah-djaafri's, which he used to send regularly, but which the only man refused to touch, unless the pensions of so many needy people were restored at the same time: nor did he complain, or even make any application to Aaly-verdy-qhan who had so high a regard for him. But that prince having been informed of the injury done to the necessitous of those parts, loaded Yessen-qhan with reproaches and curses, and ordered the pensions to be re-established on the former footing; and then only did Shah-djaafry accept his own. (He was naturally of a firm fearless temper.) At the time when Mustepha-qhan, after having quitted the service, was marching towards Bagalpoor, some Sunnies, displeased with the injurious language which he endlessly poured against the Prophet's three first successors, deferred him to his Afghans (27) as a bitter enemy of their sect; and it was reported that Mustepha-qhan wanted to call him to account; but this report did not frighten him: on the contrary, when that general arrived at Bagalpoor, the holy man remained firm and immobile in his habitation, waiting patiently for the crown of Martyrdom. Luckily for him that this threatening evil vanished of itself. But his firmity was no less conspicuous in an affair, that did him a deal of honor. It was about the time of Serad-eddö8lah's nuptials: a musulman who had killed a consecrated bull (5), had his hand cut off by order of Abiram, the Hindoo Officer at Bagalpoor, as Representative of Ata-ollah-qhan, the Foojdar, then absent; and although the man went to Axim-abad, and carried his complaints to the great and mightp ones, no body took notice of

(27) The Afghans are all Sunnurs, as is all Hindostan, and the rest of the Mahometan world; and even several provinces of Persia are Sunnies. (5) These bulls are called *Sanrs*, and are consecrated to God, as so many Exvotos. They have in general an ear slit for distinchor's sake, and are found even in such great cities as Calcutta, where they are to be seen in most crowded markets, perfectly harmless, unless they discover another *Sanr*. They are all, fat. In the Gentoo laws, it is capital, to kill one of these bulls, or cow.

him. Shah-djaferi, shocked at this neglect of justice, joined issue with the injured man; and a general sedition arising, Ata-ollah-qhan, became very uneasy, as a multitude of people thronging at his door, wanted to break into his house. The Afghan generals, Shimshir-qhan, and Serdar-qhan, were then encamped without that city, although out of service; and they seemed inclined to join the insurgents, in so much that the sedition was rising to a height; when the Governor, presented himself in the middle of the people, and observed that Aaly-verdy-qhan would be injured by this fray, and incensed at this affair; Shah-djaafry answered: *Pacify the injured Séyd, and I have nothing to say.* The Séyd being sent for, the Governor pacified him, by promising him a sum of money with some presents, and by swearing to punish those that had maimed him: then only did the malcontents disperse to their homes. There are but few men, that could have mustered on that occasion, so much courage, and faith, and disinterestedness as he did. The truth is that he was naturally fearless and intrepid; and people remember still, that Shah-djaafery being then a young man, and on a party of hunting, a tyger made his appearance; at the sight of which, Mahmed-c8t8b, elder son to General Gh8s-qhan, forbade his going nearer. The Séyd shocked at the order, galloped forward, and jumping down from his horse, he went close to the tyger, and gave him two or three strokes of his whip, to the amazement of all the beholders: the animal, instead of tearing him to pieces, turned tail, and skulked away, exactly like a mouse before a cat; the Son of the *Lion of God* (28) pursued with vigor, and would lay on as often as his whip could reach the animal. A character so fearless, was nevertheless distinguished by much meekness, and a modesty exemplary: he used to receive and to entertain all visitors, partaking in common with them of one and the same humble fare; and in this modesty, as well as in his readi-

(28) Aaly, nephew, and son-in-law to Mohammed, was for his bravery, called, the *Lion of God*. (But he has many more Epithets). Shah-djaafery, being a descendant of his, was of course his son.

ness at all times to support the complaints, and to promote the interests of the Faithfull (29), without any view to himself; he had hardly any equal. He died at Mongheir, whilst the Navvab Mir-cassim-qhan was residing there in the blaze of full power; but his friends carried to his body Azim-abad, where he was buried in a particular spot, which he had selected for that very purpose in his life time. May God have done him the favor of joining him to the chorusses of his pious ancestors!!

THERE were, besides those holy men, which we have been mentioning, numbers of pious and religious persons, in different parts of Bengal, all persons of character for sanctity of life and learning; but of whose life, I am not sufficiently informed to commemorate them properly here. One of these was Shah Gh8lam-aaly, in the village of Divrah, about the town of Arvel: Shah-bedi-eddin was another; together with others, who descended from Shah-sherf-eddin-yahya of Bahar: we must also mention Shah-cahilen, in Saher-feram, and Shah-mahmed-mah in Belia, a dependence of Monghir; and also Shah-nedjm-eddin, better known under the name of Shah-mó8lah, in the district of S8r8dj-gara, a dependence of Mongheir: where he lived with a deal of ease and satisfaction, enjoying a small estate in land, the revenue of which he spent in entertaining all comers or travellers that would call on him; but Háider-aaly-qhan who commanded Aly-verdy-qhan's artillery, having commenced an acquaintance with him, that General made application to that Prince for his bestowing on the holy man the small paraganah or district of Cagra, in the dependence of Mongheir; and the request was complied with, with the best grace in the world; so that the General one day presented him with the patent of it. Now that estate is enjoyed by his descendants, that is by his wife's relations, who all live comfortably upon the product of it.

(29) The Author as well as the Saint, understand by that word, only the *Shyabs*, that is the people of their own sect.

THERE were in those times at Azim-abad numbers of persons who loved sciences and learning, and employed themselves in teaching and in being taught; and I remember to have seen in that city and its environs alone nine or ten professors of repute, and three or four hundred students and disciples;† from whence may be conjectured the number of those that must have been in the great towns, and in the retired districts. Amongst those that flourished in the town of Bahar, the Cazy-g8lam-muzaffer, better known under the title of Muzaffer-aaly-qhan, was personally known to Aaly-verdy-qhan, who appointed him to the office of supreme judge of Moorshoodabad. He was a learned, ingenious, well behaved man, who wrote well both in verse and in prose.

As to those men of merit and knowledge, who led by their particular destiny, quitted the regions of Iran to come to Bengal and into Hindostan, and who in particular settled in Bahar and Azim-abad, the first of those venerable personages was the Prince of the learned and of the illustrious, the Foremost of the renowned doctors, the Veil-drawer of the difficult and hidden passages, the Seal of teachers and institutors, our Lord and Teacher Mahomed-el-medoo-bed-aaly, who changed his name into that of Mahmed-hezin (30) the delivered, (to whom may God have granted a high place in heaven)! he was one of the descendants of Sheh-tadj-eddin-hibrahim, better known under the name of Zahed-the-djilanian;

(†) The reader must rate properly all those students, and all those expressions: their only object was, the Coran, and its commentaries, that is, the Mahometan religion, and the Mahometan law.

(30) That is, Mohammed the afflicted. We have visited him twice in 1764 and 65, and found him a man of sense and also of knowledge: but such was the opinion spread both of his holiness and learning, and such the profound respect paid him, that mighty sovereigns like Shudjah-edd68lah, and Mir-cassiem-qhan, having made him a visit together, he received them sitting; and they, on being bid, took their seats kneeling, and at four yards distance; and when he thought proper to dismiss them, they advanced respectfully, kissed his knee, made a profound bow, and retired marching backwards: he gave them each a Qhylaat and a Dopata, which they received as a high honour. He told me that he had never loosened the cordon of his drawers neither upon a lawful or an unlawful occasion, (such was his expression) and of course that he had never meddled with a woman.

and his fame was spread all over the world. The reputation of his virtues and learning was such, that his writings and compositions were as well known in India as in Iran: his virtues seemed to be an emanation and a manifestation of the powers of the Supreme Being; and himself a creature of a particular choice. I confess, in common with several persons far superior to me in every sense, that in this age he had not his equal: it is even probable that all over Iran and Arabia there has not been a man, so universally learned, as to be reputed a reservoir of every kind of knowledge, sacred or profane, spiritual or corporeal. He was a standing miracle of the divine omnipotence: had studied all the sciences; and had such a prodigious memory, that it is doubted whether in this last qualification he ever had his equal. His knowledge was so universal, that there was no proposing to him a question in any point of spiritual science or of practical knowledge, but he would answer it directly. What subtilty could be pointed out in the whole circle of science, which he did not unfold? and amongst the mazes and depths of astrology, in what part was he not thoroughly versed? In fact he was a wonder and a prodigy of his age. The Emperor Mahmud-shah, fully apprised of his merit, sent him several messages by the channel of Emir-qhan, and some other grandees of his capital, requesting his being pleased to accept the office of Vezir, and to augment thereby the splendor of his court. But as that worthy man thought it a shame to submit to the inconveniencies of this world, he declined the proposal: for being a man of penetration, he knew that the secret fundamentals of the Empire were tottering, and likely soon to fall down; and therefore he paid no regard to the request; else, whenever the government of a kingdom is the business, and the correction of a whole empire is the question, men of those superior talents will never refuse to undergo the burthen of a reformation; nor will they think themselves exempt from contributing to the good of mankind: so far from this, that they will think such a burthen to be obligatory on their character. To stretch too far the threads of this narrative on his virtues and excellencies, would be super-

fluous in this place: his poelies, glowing every where with the sentiments of his heart, shall always bear a sufficient testimony of his eminent merit, and will afford a full information to those that never knew him personally. It was remarked of this illustrious man that he came several times to Azimabad on his way to his own country of Iran, and always found himself opposed by fate: this is as much as we can say of him; for to mention his arrival and his several voyages with the obstacles he met with, would require much time, and answer very little purpose. Aaly-verdy-qhan, and his two sons in-law, wrote him repeatedly, in the most respectful terms, supplicating the happiness of seeing him in their dominions. At each time he returned a polite answer, in which he excused himself: but the truth is, he never had any liking to their persons, or any inclination to live in their courts. From Azimabad he returned to Banarefs, where for several reasons he took-up his abode, and where he lived a long time, until finding himself grown feebler, and incapable of travelling, he ordered a mausoleum to be raised for himself; and in the year of the Hedjra 1180, his soul winged its flight towards a corner of the Divine Mercy; and his body was buried in the monument which he had himself provided. One day (31) as he was looking at his tomb-stone, he had a mind to write some words with his own hand upon it; and these were engraved, with two or three verses of his composition; nor will it prove amiss to remember them here: at the top is the blessed name of God: after which are the words: *O Beneficent, your culprit stands before you; receive Mahmed-el-medoo-beaulli the Djilanian, son to Abu-taaleb, and grand son-to Abdollah, the Pious.* But the very day of his death, he wrote this notice of himself in the following verses at the bottom of the stone:

(31) He had been several times to see his stone coffin; but that day he sat in it, then stretched himself at length, and having found it too long, he ordered it to be shortened.—It was of Chennar stone.—Mir-cassem-qhan once sent him a sum of sixty thousand rupees to be distributed amongst the poor, (this was the etiquette expression). He would not look at the money, sent it back, and answered the most respectful message in these words: *would not one think from hence that all is happiness in Bengal, and that there are no poor in that country?*

The

“ The dark night of my existence is illuminated by the approach of enjoyment :

“ To-morrow is judgment day for me, but it proves a lighted flambeau to my tomb.

At the two sides of these verses, he added the following ones:

“ Should you ask me what I have been doing in this world, I would answer,

“ I have been attending to the language of love, and know nothing else:

“ Nothing else, but that I have just heard here the inviting voice of my Love.

“ Fatigued from his journey, and sensible of the pains it has cost him,

“ Hezin comes to repose his weary head on this pillow of tranquillity.

MAY God's mercy be upon him!

THE second of those eminent personages, that came from foreign parts, is his Highness Sheh-mahmed-hassen, who is equal to the second Protomartyr, Sheh-zin-eddin-aaly. To mention his illustrious pedigree, would prove as superfluous a task as it would be to point out the sun as, a new thing, in the middle of a flaming day. He had not his equal in the knowledge of the Arabick language, in jurisprudence, and in the sense of the Coran, and of its commentaries. As to the metaphysical and profane sciences, he was little versed in them; nor did they attract much of his regard; but he was not a stranger to them neither. His inclination turned him towards theology, and sacred knowledge, expressing little inclination towards profane sciences; but he had no aversion to them, nor did he forbid them, to his disciple: for he used to say that the antient masters were partaged in their opinions, on that subject: and I acknowledge, would he add, my insufficiency in those two articles, and “ at a loss how to determine between the two parties, betwixt their right or wrong opinions: God only “ knows which is best.” The Afghans having taken possession of Iran, and thrown every thing into confusion, he retired with his parents and family to the holy tombs of Kerbela and Nedjef (32), and took-up his abode there. But forced by poverty, he came from thence to Shah-djehanabad, where he attached himself to Ab81-mans8r-qhan. From thence he

(32) Ally is buried at Nedjef or C8fah, a town in the territory of Basrah; and his son Houssein, at Kerbela.

sent money to his family, and had it brought to him in Hindostan; and mean while he was preposed to inspect the education of the young Mirza-djelaleddin-háider since Shudjah-eddó8lah, son to that general. But a^s Ab8l-mans8or-qhan came soon after to depart this life, and Sudjah-eddö8lah, turning giddy with the fumes of profligacy and absolute power, did not chuse to listen to him any more, he quited his court, and retired to Azim-abad, where he was taken notice of by one of the Iranians of that city(33), who perceiving his poverty, made him accept a sum of money to be employed in trade on common risks. The man, little acquainted with Merchandise, and little inclined to commerce, put the money in the hands of a third person, and took up his abode in the mausoleum of Saadet-qhan, father-in-law to Ab8l-mans8or-qhan. Mean while his agent in trade came from Gorock-p8r with a quantity of Sac8-timber(34); and as Radja-ram-naráin, who in appearance shewed him much regard, but in fact hated him heartily, was then building a palace, he was requested to purchase the whole quantity of timber at the common price, and to pay the money at once. Accordingly, the Radjah's officers went, measured the timber, set their mark upon it, and for a length of time left it there, without further notice. The poor man sent the Radja word, requesting him either to take-up the timber and pay for it according to the terms agreed upon, or to release it intirely, that any other might purchase it. The Radja, proud of his power and superior rank, made a very strange and very improper answer; and it was in these terms; "I fear neither the West nor the East, as you seem to imagine: nor have I bought your timber, but out of compassion: and you had better think so yourself." The Sheh confounded at the message, answered in a note, that he had not been able to understand his excellency's message, "but as to what you have been pleased" added he "to write of your having no fears:

(33) Iranians, that is, the Persians, which latter word is not known in the East.

(34) Called *Saal* by the Europeans; It is a kind of *Sakvan*, which last wood is called *Teck* by the French, and *Teack* by the English.

V E R S E S.

“ There is a certain being called, God, which, you know;

“ Can assuage even the billows of a stormy sea.”

AFTER this affair, poverty took the upper hand of that worthy man. Luckily that a little time after, Aly-djah-mir-cassém-qhan having seated himself upon the mesned of the sovereignty of Bengal, and established himself fully in the possession of the three provinces of Bengala, Bahar and Sressa, he was pleased to call me from Radja Ram-narain's service into his own, as we shall mention subsequently, and to put it in my power to procure him from that Prince a noble pension, which enabled him to repay his creditors. However he did not long enjoy that state of affluence; and in a couple of years more, his last hour being come, he was interred in that spot of ground which had been bought by Mir-cassém-qhan, and is close to the monument of Saadet-qhan's father. Doctor Ab81-cassém, his disciple and friend, out of regard to his memory, and out of respect to his tomb, built himself a house close to it. It is true he was a Cashmirian indeed (35); but yet he proved to be a man of excellent qualifications: so that after having honorably and virtuously lived in that house for a number of years, he departed this life last year, that is, in the year 1193 of the Hedjra, and repaired to the mansions of the divine forgiveness. He was buried close to his master and teacher, and left behind a character of a good-natured man, equally desirous of serving God, and of obliging his creatures: acquainted with the Arabic, with jurisprudence, with sacred law, and with it's explaadtions and commentaries; and whose main scope after God's service, was to be useful to men; being himself a man of excellent

1780-81.

(35) The Cashmirians, as well as Bengallees, bear a strange character all over Hindostan, for faithfulness, roguery, and impudence. The proverb says: *Cashmiri, bi Piri; Bengallee, Djendjali*. The Cashmirian acts as an Atheist; but the Bengallee is always one from whom there is no disentangling one's self. However, there is a still more formidable adage against Cashmirian women: an adage, which seems to set at nought those engaging countenances, those elegant shapes, those charming features, and that ingenious fertility in love contrivances, which nature has so largely bestowed on them; and it is this: *Cashmiri, bi Piri; ne Lezzet, ne shiri*. The faithless Cashmirian, affords neither taste nor flavor.

qualifications.

qualifications. He died suddenly the 18th of Ramazan, as he was breaking his fast in the first part of the night (a), and he was universally regretted. May God receive him in the arms of his mercy!

AFTER so many deaths, none remains from amongst those virtuous men of former times, but two persons; and it is for their sakes doubtless that blessings are still showered down upon earth from heaven; and it is these few who distribute still as much as they can afford, the sealed liquor of knowledge and science to the thirsty creatures of God. The first of these two is the glorious Séyd, that token of the beams of the Divinity, the discoverer of the subtilities and difficulties of the eternal science, Séyd-mahmed-aaly, (the cooling waters of whose virtues and learning may God Almighty render perennial for my particular benefit, and as well as that of all the Believers). His father was a native of Iran, but himself was born in Hâiderabad, one of the two capitals of Decan, where his father was no sooner arrived, than his wife was brought to bed of a son. The father, intent on improving the mind of his child, carried him back to Iran, to have him educated there; and the boy being early initiated in the rudiments of knowledge, took such a liking to learning and to learned men, that in order to push his studies, he attached himself to the complete doctor and excellent teacher, our lord and teacher Mahmed-fadyc-sistani: he got his name inscribed amongst his disciples, and applied himself intensely to the business of founding all the depths of knowledge, and of unfolding all the subtilities of science; nor did he ever part with that illustrious master, so long as he lived; but continued to increase his acquisitions, until by intense application and gradual labour, he arrived at the utmost height of science; and now he is famed for universality of learning: in the science of theoretical and practical physick especially, he is reputed to have not his equal. With all his merit, and all his knowledge, he was in imitation of all the

(a) The Mahometans fast rigorously, during that whole month, from the dawn of the day to sun-set, without either eating or drinking, and even without smelling any perfume.—See Note 128—Section II.

learned men, his predecessors, fond of retirement, and obscurity, passing his time in perusing the works of antient masters: nor was he drawn out of his retirement, but by the evils that poured at once upon his country. His master died during the siege of Isfahan; and his father retired to the mansions of divine mercy. Mean while, the country of Iran (36) becoming a scene of oppression and troubles, and a variety of revolutions succeeding each other, he remembered his native country of India, and resolved to return thither. After his arrival in Bengal, he lived some days at P8raniah; but in a little time he thought proper to quit that country, as Séif-qhan had some abruptness in his character, as well as some profligacy in his morals. From thence he repaired to Azim-abad, where he met Abdol-aaly-qhan the Poor Man's paternal uncle, who thinking himself honored by such a guest, received him generously, and undertook to support him with decency. However as occasions and opportunities to serve him did not offer, and he wished for an independent subsistence, he quitted Azim-abad and repaired to A8d and Lucknow, where he remained a long time; until he was invited over by Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, governor of Azim-abad, who wrote him pressing letters on that subject. The worthy man, who took those invitations to be so many tokens of a return of good fortune, repaired to Azim-abad, where the governor no sooner heard of his being near, than he sent some persons of note to bring him over; and he received him with the utmost distinction, making him several presents; for he thought it an honor to settle upon him a noble pension, as well as to oblige him in every thing in his power. This state of things lasted until that worthy Prince was murdered by Shimshir-qhan: at which time the Séyd's house was plundered, and himself reduced again to poverty; but hearing that Aly-verdy-qhan was arrived at Mongher, he, like the Prophets of old, fled from a land of oppression, and took shelter in the Bengal Army, where the Vice-roy looking upon his august arrival as some thing auspicious to himself,

(36) Persia, has no other general name all over the east: it is only that part of it is called *Pars*, the *Perfis* of the Greeks, which bears that European name.

and as something that announced success and victory, to his arms, received him with distinction, and settled a plentiful pension upon him, which was always regularly paid: nor did he ever abate any thing from the kindnesses and attentions shewn him at first. But the Séyd himself, fired with a desire of seeing the completion of Musulmanism, and visiting the monument of the Prince of Men, and kissing the venerable threshold of the First of Pontifes (37), (upon whom be grace for ever); took a journey thither by Sea, and having enjoyed the happiness for which he had panted so long, he returned to Bengal where he found the Viceroy dying, and Seradj-eddö8lah, disposing of every thing. The new Prince, with a petulance that became his character of ignorance and profligacy, instead of continuing to use with distinction so worthy a man, offered him indignities; he ordered him to quit the apartment where he lived in the palace: and this too without allowing him a moment's respite. The poor man confounded at the suddenness of the order, was at a loss how to account for it, and how to dispose of himself at so short a notice; when he was succoured by Providence: Hassen-reza-qhan, son to one of Hadji-ahmed's daughters, hearing of that worthy man's being turned into the street, ran on foot to the spot; and although not certain himself of his own fate, which his attachment to Nevazish-mahmed-qhan had rendered doubtful, and Seradj-eddö8la's levity and profligacy, precarious, he engaged the worthy man to take shelter in his own house; and a few days after, he made him present of a dwelling and a spot of ground attaining to his own, where he took up his abode, and where he lives to this day: it is on the water side. It is observable that this nobleman, who was then the flambeau and light of his family, had exposed himself to the lion's jaws by so noble an action: But the Divine Mercy, in return for it, protected him from the tyrant's resentment in a pecu-

(37) The Prince of Men is Mahomet, but the First of Pontifes, according to the Shyah principles of the author, is Aali, whose pontificate, or reign, the Shyahs take to be the completion of Musulmanism: the pontificate being one of the articles of their faith, although not an article of the Musulman faith.

liar manner: else, what he had done was full of danger and peril: for the tyrant heard of it, and Hassen-reza-qhan came to think so himself. Seradj-eddö8lah is now gone: he has disappeared from the face of the earth, after having received a full measure for what he had done; but the memory of this noble action shall illustrate the page of history, and remain recorded for ever.

V E R S E:

“ After two such examples, chuse, if thou canst, thine own pattern.

Thanks are due to the Almighty God, that the learned man is still living to this day, (it being the month of Shaaban of the year 1194) 38, and is spending his time in collating books, confronting authorities, explaining the Scriptures, reading lectures upon sciences, and shewing the influence of his learning and virtues over the whole city of Moorshoodabad: he is assiduously attended by Hassen-Reza-qhan and his children, by Mahmed-hofssein-qhan, by Doctor-haddy-qhan's son, and by numbers of the most distinguished persons of the city, who all resort thither to reap the benefit of his vivifying breath. May God continue to stretch the shade of that illustrious Séyd's person over the heads of his servants and adorers! Amen.

THE second of those two illustrious men, which remain to us from the former times, is the Prince of those that fear God, and are attached to the rights of his Pontife, the Cream of the Learned in the true Science, Hadji-bedi-eddin. (Whom God may long conserve at the head of the Musulmanism, that we may long refresh our thirst at the cooling waters of his virtues and learning!) He was born in the district Sarun, about Azimabad, and is renowned amongst those pious men, who fearing God, live retired; but with honor and decency. After having acquired a knowledge of the sciences, he resolved to spend his days in the service of his God, and in subduing his flesh: for this purpose he attached himself to

(38) The year 1779 and 80 of the Christian era.

Qhadja-mahmed-djaafer, the forgiven (39), who was a Religious of distinction and fortune; in whose service he remained for a long time, as his friend and as his disciple; and where he acquired such an intense love for the house of God (40), and for the tombs of the illustrious martyrs, that he joined society with Hadji-ahmed-aaly, son-in-law to Moluvy-nassyr, the forgiven, and made haste to perform his pilgrimage, and to visit the sublime gates. On his returning from thence, he went to kiss the venerable Ruzuvian threshold (on which be grace for ever); and after having enjoyed that happiness, he returned to India, where he now lives with his children and family in Mustepha-abad, a village of his wife's purchasing. He is solidly pious, deeply versed in the Coran and its commentaries, as well as in jurisprudence, and in all the matters relating to faith. Although no ways a stranger to the prophane branches of knowledge, the sublimest doctors reckon him one of their number; and the forgiven Sheh-mahmed-aaly paid him a great deal of regard, and used to say, that there was but one Azim-abad in India, and but one Hadji-bedi-eddin. One day as the Hadji, in his way from Banares to his place of residence, had advanced to Azim-abad merely to see the venerable Shah; the latter conducted him to his very door, where he made a fervent prayer for him. The Hadji passes whole days and nights in prayer; nor is it known that he ever missed the night-prayer called Tehedjud or watching. His time was regularly divided; but with so much vigilance upon himself, that no man living can accuse him of having done an action contrary to law, or unworthy of his age. He is now in his eightieth year, and regrets that whilst not one of the Imams or Pontifes (on whom be grace for ever) has arrived at such an age, his own life should have been

(39) The words *the forgiven*, always answer to the English expression: the late: the deceased.

(40) The house of God is the Caaba or square house within the mosque of Mecca: the house of one of the Martyrs is at Coofah or Nedjef, where is buried Aaly. There is another at Medina, where is buried Hassan, his son; and another at Kerbelah, the burial place of Husséin, his younger son. The Rezevian threshold is at T8fs or Mesh-hed, where is buried Aaly M8ssa-reza.

protracted to such a length. May God conserve so worthy a man, with all those that resemble him, that they may bring down the blessings of heaven upon earth, and refresh our remembrance of those that have preceded him in the paths of piety and virtue!

Seradj-eddö8lah
commences his
reign by striping
and confining
his own aunt,
Biby Gahaffity.

AFTER such a digression in behalf of science and piety, the thread of our history requires that we should return to Seradj-eddö8lah. That young Prince having taken possession of the sovereignty of Bengala, Bahar, and 8ressa, spent some time in his mourning, and then took his seat on the throne of dominion and command. The first operation of his government was that of ordering a number of his forces to march to Motidjil, with injunctions to bring his aunt, Biby-gahaffity, from thence, and to confine her in some other place; after which the commanding officer was to seize every thing belonging to her, jewels, money, as well as furniture, and to carry it to his own treasury. It was then that the silly woman found the consequence of having so liberally distributed her money. The commanders and troops, who had, some time before Aaly-verdy-qhan's demise, received so much gold and so many presents from her, under solemn promises of fighting for her cause against Seradj-eddö8lah, now finding not in themselves any stomach for fighting at all, had already retired to those places of shelter which they had purchased with her money: and the commanders being already gone, soon were followed by the multitude; so that there remained with her but a small number of men; who no sooner saw themselves invested, than they seemed confounded and like men that had lost their wits. Mir-nuzur-aly † was as much frightened as any other: this man who had been the author of those schemes of resistance, and who cut so great a figure in the heart of that Princess, as well as in her household (41), no sooner saw himself surrounded, than being out of

† This Mir-nuzur-aaly, was a man in the style of Hussein-c8li-qhan, tall, stout, and handsome. This man, who ran away from Bengal with twelve or fifteen lacs in jewels, and God knows how much more in cash, returned into that country in the year 1780, poor and distressed, obliged to live in his old age at the expence of a dance woman, an old acquaintance of his; he had squandered all that treasure at Dice at Banares.

his mind as well as others, he engaged in his cause by large presents, two commanders of character who interceded in his behalf with the new Prince, and found means to procure his escape. These were Dost-mahmed-qhan and Rehem-qhan; but every thing found in the house of that Princess was registered, and sent to the public treasury; and that short-sighted woman, who instead of hating her Nephew, ought to have considered him as her own son, received in that day her just retribution, for her having consented to Hussēin-c8ly-qhan's unjust death; and for having been guilty of an infinity of infamous actions, with which she had dishonored her character and family. She was disrobed of her rank and honor, striped of her wealth, and put under confinement. Rabia-begum, her sister, had on her side full reason to be frightened; but she escaped with little hurt, by the means of her daughter, relict of Ecrām-eddö8lah, who had been brother of the reigning Prince.

THIS expedition against Moti-djil was followed by very great changes at Court. Mir-djaafer-qhan, who had enjoyed these many years the office of Paymaster-general of the forces, lost his office, which was bestowed on a new man, Mir-meden, a gentleman sent for purposely from Djehanghir-nugur-daca, where he was one of those attached to Hassēn-eddin-qhan, nephew to Hussēin-c8ly-qhan. Mohun-lāl (a), Divan to Seradj-eddö8lah's household, was appointed Divan-general, and Prime Minister, with full power over every branch of administration; the title of Maha-radja, or

(a) This Mohon-lāl had made a present of his sister to Seradj-eddö8lah, which sister was a true Indian beauty, small and delicate. For nothing is more common amongst Indians, when they want to give an idea of a surpassing beauty, than to say; *when she ate Paan, you might have seen through her skin the colored liquor run down her throat: and she was so delicate, as to weigh only twenty-two seers, (or sixty-six pounds English: which by the bye, was, they say, the weight of that beloved girl, which Seradj-eddö8lah ordered to be immured alive. She was detected in an intrigue with Seradj-eddö8lah's brother-in-law: "Mifs, said the Prince, I find that you are a whore?" And so am I, answered, disdainfully the poor woman in despair, who had been a dance-woman, I have ever been so: this indeed might be made a matter of reproach to your mother, but not to me: I am so by trade.*

Great Prince, was added to the investiture, together with a kettle-drum, a fringed paleky, and the grade of five thousand horse; and so much trust was reposed in that man, as well as so much power lodged in his hands, that the grandees and commanders, who had already conceived a dislike to the new Prince, on account of his levity, and his profligacy, as well as his harsh language, and the hardness of his heart, finding themselves subjected to those two new men, and especially to the latter, whose arrogance they could not bear, now set no bounds to their discontents; and every one of them sowed in his breast the thoughts of getting rid of so improper a Ruler; in so much that none remained attached to him, but a few young men, as profligate and as giddy as himself, all of whom had been suddenly raised to power and influence by his means. For as to the principal men in the city and army, every one of them, shocked to see such a man on the throne, were only intent on finding out the means of overturning his power, whether by art, by force, or by treason. And soon fortune favored their wishes.

Cause of the
war which he
declares against
the English.

SERADJ-ED-DÓ8LAH had, a little after his accession to the throne, conceived in his heart the design of wrenching the country of P8rania from the hands of Sháocat-djung, his own cousin, son to the late Sáyd-ahmed-qhan; and with this view he had repaired to Radj-mahl. Such a sudden arrival threw Sháocat-djung, as well his favorites and ministers into dismay: they were seized with a panick; and as he did not trust his ministers as yet, he turned himself towards the religious and pious men of that city, whose prayers he requested, to the end that the imminent evil might be averted, and Seradj-eddö8lah might alter his mind, and return to his capital. But whilst Sháocat-djung was thus employed, news came to Seradj-ed-dó8lah at Radj-mahl, that Kishun-bohl8b, son to Radja Rahdj-b8llub, heretofore Divan to Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, had given the slip to the guards that had been sent to Djehanghir-nugur-dacca to seize him, and had made his escape to Calcutta, where he was protected by Mr. Drake, the chief man of that town(*).

town (*). On hearing this, Seradj-ed-dó8lah gave up his design against Shà-ocat-djung, and returned to Moorshoodabad; where, after writing many sharp letters and reprimands to Mr. Drake, the messages and literary correspondence ended in declared war; and Seradj-ed-dó8lah assembled an army against Calcutta. But this Prince, whose head was so much disordered by the fumes of pride and ignorance, as to commit an infinity of errors, continued, even after having declared war, to welter in the miry eddies of presumption, levity and insolence: he neglected, and daily insulted those ancient commanders, that had served so faithfully and bravely, Aaly-verdy-qhan, his uncle; so that intimidated now by his grand-son's character and foul language, they did not dare to open their mouths, or to take breath in his presence: most of them, shocked at the dishonorable expressions made use of in speaking to them, and incensed at the insolence of the upstarts that had taken possession of his mind, were so far from offering advice upon the posture of affairs, or upon the manner of proceeding in this expedition, that they were in general ill-intentioned, and wishing to see its miscarriage, as well as their Ruler's downfall: and whilst himself, on his side, made it a point not to ask any one's opinion; on the other, those he consulted (and these were no other, than those which he had lately promoted), being most of them incapable and inexperienced, did not chuse to mention in his presence any advice that might shock his sentiments, and thereby endanger the power and authority to which they had been so lately raised. As for himself, he was ignorant of the world, and incapable to take a reasonable party, being totally destitute of sense and penetration, and yet having a head so obscured by the smoke of ignorance, and so giddy and intoxicated with the fumes of youth and power and dominion, that he knew no distinction betwixt good and bad, nor betwixt vice and virtue. His imprudence was so enormous, that in the middle of a military expedition, he would set daggers in the hearts of his bravest and ablest

(*) Such was then the etiquette expression. Matters are much altered now; and the *chief-man* of that town is now the Ruler of the greatest Empire in India.

commanders,

commanders, by his harsh language, and his choleric disposition. Such usage naturally rendered them regardless, and utterly neglectful. Else, this dispute with the English might have been terminated by a few words in a conference, by the least of his ministers and commanders, without it becoming necessary to recur to force and to war. But it having been decreed by Providence, that the guilty race of Aaly-verdy-qhan should be deprived of an empire that had cost so much toil in rearing; of course it was in its designs that the three provinces of Bengala, Bahar, and 8reffa, should be found to have for masters two young men, equally proud, equally incapable, and equally cruel, Seradj-ed-dó8lah, and Sháocat-djung: in consequence of their behaviour, equally cruel and thoughtless, smoke was already seen to rise from out of Aly-verdi-qhan's generation and house. In one word, Seradj-eddó8lah, after having given his orders for assembling an army and a field-equipage, set out at the beginning of Ramazan, on that ill concerted, ominous expedition of his own contriving: and without consulting any one, hé by hasty marches arrived in that field which destiny had sown with thorns and evils for his family. The English being certain now, that Seradj-ed-dó8lah wanted to go to war with them, resolved, although unprepared for such an attack, to stand to their defence; they shut up some streets of their town, fortified some houses stronger than the others, prepared their ancient factory, and bravely waited for the enemy. Seradj-ed-dó8lah, who had a numerous artillery, and as numerous an army, soon took possession of those fortified out-posts: in a little time, and without much trouble, he soon became master of the English town; and Mr. Drake, finding that matters went hard with him, abandoned every thing, and fled, without so much as giving notice to his countrymen. He took shelter on board of a ship, and with a small number of friends and principal persons, he disappeared at once. Those that remained, finding themselves abandoned by their chiefs, concluded their case must be desperate; yet most of them were impressed with such a sense of honor, that preferring death to life, they fought it out, until their powder and ball failing at last, they

they bravely drank up the bitter cup of death: some others, seized by the claws of destiny, were made prisoners. The capture of the factory was followed by an universal pillage: the company's warehouses, and the dwellings of the principal English, Gentoo, and Armenian merchants, all of which were replenished with an infinite quantity of goods and money, were plundered by the vilest part of the army: nor did Seradj-ed-dó8lah reap any benefit from so much wealth in merchandise and money. This event happened in the twenty-second day of the month of Ramazan, in the year of the Hedjra 1169, just seventy-two days after Aaly-verdy-qhan's demise. Mr. Watch (Watts), Chief of the factory at Cossimbar, with a few others from the town of Calcutta, were made prisoners, and kept in confinement. A. D. 1746.

To all appearance it is in this affair that some Bibies (42), amongst the women of the English, fell in the hands of Mirza-emir-beg. This was a gentleman attached to Mir-djaaser-qhan, one of the generals of the army. The Mirza, with all the abstinence and reserve that became a man of education and honor, kept them decently and untouched, but in secret; and at night, he informed his master of the whole matter, who gave him a *Bhovaliah* (43), or swift boat, in which he put the Bibies, and let his boat

(42) Ladies.—There is not a word here of those English shut up in the Black-hole, to the number of 131, where they were mostly smothered. The truth is, that the Hindostanees wanting only to secure them for the night, as they were to be presented the next morning to the Prince, shut them up in what they heard was the prison of the Fort, without having any idea of the capacity of the room; and indeed the English, themselves had none of it. This much is certain, that this event, which cuts so capital a figure in Mr. Watts's performance, is not known in Bengal; and even in Calcutta, it is ignored by every man out of the four hundred thousand that inhabit that city: at least it is difficult to meet a single native that knows any thing of it: so careless, and so incurious are those people. Were we therefore to accuse the Indians of cruelty, for such a thoughtless action, we would of course accuse the English, who intending to embark four hundred Gentoo sipahees, destined for Madras, put them in boats, without one single necessary, and at last left them to be over-set by the boar, where they all perished, after a three days fast.

(43) A Bhovaliah, is a boat from fifty to a hundred and twenty feet in length, upon three or four in breadth, rowed by 20 or 60 rowers. The rapidity with which they paddle against a stream that runs at the rate of from seven to twelve miles per hour, is past belief.

drive, as if by accident, with the stream: being soon got past the army-guards, he rowed with vigour, and in a little time he arrived at twelve coffes below, where Mr. Drake's ship lay at anchor. There he delivered the Bibies; and these ladies having rendered an honorable testimony to Emir-beg's modest behaviour, made such an impression on their husbands, that the latter, although nearly destitute themselves, collected some jewels, to make him a handsome present, in acknowledgement of his generous conduct: but it was refused by the Mirza, who said to one of them: "Gentlemen, what I have done, was not for the sake of a present; for as you are a chief man in your nation, and a man of distinction and sentiments, so I am a gentleman in my own nation, and a man of honor and humanity. I have done nothing but what was required by a sense of honor; and what might entitle me to your remembrance." After saying this, he got into his boat, and rowing all night, he rejoined his master before day-break. And really what he had done is no more than what ought to have been expected from a man of honor; for such ought to be the actions of gentlemen: as to those men who style themselves Musulmen, and have laid their hands upon the properties and honor of other people, their actions are no better than so many suggestions of the Dæmon of Concupiscence, and so many illusions of the Devil, their prototype (*b*) and master: and they are such indubitably: although their rulers should pretend to derive their pedigree from the successors and heirs of the Prince of Prophets, and should fancy that they are actually armed and fighting in the cause of God. Vain are those pretensions of their's! for their actions prove indubitably that they are attached solely to this world; there being an evident difference betwixt the works of the just, and those of such worldly-minded men as us

(*b*) This is a *sortie* of our author's upon Mir-djafer-qhan, who, four years after the capture of Calcutta, made a present to Colonel Clive of ten handsome women out of his *seraglio*, that is, out of Seradj-ed-dóglah's *seraglio*, although he was himself a *Séyd*, or a descendant of the Prophet's, and, like all the Musulmen Princes of India, had assumed the surname of Ghazi, or champion fighting against infidels.

whose

whose only scope and aim is this world, and only this world. The difference is indeed indisputable and amazing.

V E R S E S.

“ Do not measure the works of the Virtuous after your own self;
 “ Nor so far mistake, as to find no difference betwixt *shir* and *shir* (44).”

Doubtless were the Prophet himself, or the Prophet's heir, to come into the world again, whatever they should command would be obligatory on a Musulman, and would require his submission and obedience; but in the Pontife's absence, or that of his Prophet's, self defence only becomes our right: by which it is meant, that if any one should attack our life, honor or property, and injury is not otherwise to be prevented, we have then a right, nay we are obliged to repel it by whatever means are in our power: this unquestionably is lawful to us; but not, that out of ambition and covetousness, we should, on those accounts, expose to imminent danger both ourselves and the People of God. Accursed and destroyed be the house of those faithless Mustees (45), who by their shameful answers and disgraceful sentences, have plunged a world of Unfortunates into a sea of evils! But destroyed it has already been: *God, our Lord, preserve us, as well as all other Faithfuls, from the wickedness of such men, as put us in fear of dæmons, and of man* (46).

BUT to return to our history, Seradj-ed-dó8lah, after having passed some time at Calcutta, in beholding the destruction of houses, and the desolation of numbers of it's innocent inhabitants, as well as in compleating some other affairs, which he fancied to be very advantageous and proper, at last set out for his capital, where he arrived in full health. He had left for the guard of his new conquest a body of eight or nine thousand foot, and five thousand horse, the whole, as well as that town, under the command

(44) *Shir* in Persian signifies equally milk and Tyger or Lion, the sound and character being exactly the same.

(45) The word *Musti* coming from *Fetva* (answer) signifies a giver of answers; casuist. The *Musti* is the highest Ecclesiastical dignity in a city or province.

(46) A passage of the Coran.

of Manic-chund, hitherto Divan to the Radja Bardevan. This Governor was a man, presumptuous, arrogant, destitute of capacity, and wholly without courage, as it did appear evidently enough at Bardevan, when he fled with all his might, on seeing Aly-verdy-qhan surrounded on a sudden by the Marhattas. It was after such an experiment that Manic-chund was entrusted with so extensive a command; and it was after making so insulting a choice, that he went on disobliging and shocking his principal commanders, such as Mir-djafer-qhan, and Rehem-qhan, and especially Omer-qhan, an old officer, whose two sons, Selabet-qhan, and Dilir-qhan, were soldiers of merit, and as well as of old standing. He ill used Radja-do8llobram also, as well as many others, all commanders of character, all deserving the utmost regard, and all thoroughly estranged from him by his harsh language, and his shocking behaviour: nor were the principal citizens of Moorshoodabad better used, Djagat-seat especially: all these were tired of living under such an administration, and wished no better than to be rid of such a government, by Seradj-ed-dò8lah's death: so that whenever they chanced to perceive any appearance of discontent any where, or any hatred against the present government, they would send secret messages to the party, with exhortations to contrive some mode of deliverance; under promise of their being heartily and effectually supported. Mir-djafer-qhan, as the most considerable and the most injured of the malcontents, was the foremost amongst them: Djagat-seat had underhand promised to support him vigorously; and they formed together a confederacy, which has been hinted at in the narrative about Sháocat-djung, and which shall be explained in the subsequent pages: for now it becomes proper to resume that young Prince's history, in order to see how he went to wreck. such a digression necessarily must have its place here, to answer the expectations of those, who having already got some idea of the profligacy and ignorance of that young man's character, are desirous to know how he continued to mismanage, and how he ended at last.

General discontent against Seradj-ed-dò8lah.

WE

WE have already mentioned how Sáyd-ahmed-qhan died, and how he was succeeded by his son, Sháocat-djung: and how, not thinking proper to remain in that young Prince's service, I, the Poor Man, had quitted P8raniah, with intention to repair to Azim-abad, where our family is settled: but that hearing at Carangolah that my two younger brothers, and my maternal uncle, Séyd-abdol-vehhab-qhan, had been banished from that city, by a late order of Seradj-ed-dôglah's, I had become fearful of that Prince's resentment, on my own account; so that finding it difficult to get out of his dominions, it being a voyage that would have required fifteen days, and in the height of the rains; and full as disagreeable to pass that season in such a lonely place as Carangolah, I had thought it better to return to P8raniah. But no sooner was I landed in my home, than my very imprudent friends became urging for my taking service with that senseless youth, Sháocat-djung, whose character I knew, or had guessed so well. I would answer, "that my attaching myself to that young Prince was not likely to last long: that I foresaw that his affairs would not end well: that now that I was sitting in a corner of my own house, I was safe from these two thoughtless young men, (Sháocat-djung, and Seradj-ed-dôglah); but that once engaged in the former's service, I would be exposed to the shafts of the perverse character of both: and for these reasons I requested their tormenting me no more, on that subject." All this did not avail: they would endlessly observe that even death in good company was not without its pleasure; and they all seemed discontented and estranged from me. At last finding that I remained immoveable, they one day contrived to come in a body to the Poor Man's house, with the Prince at their head; and this young man made use of so many intreaties to draw me out of my retirement, that I soon saw that unless I submitted instantly, I might see realised in few days all those evils and misfortunes, which I had only conceived as probable: I conceived that I might experience directly what I feared might happen only in the sequel; and that the Prince, incensed at my refusal, would render my stay at P8raniah very uneasy, by setting up some subject of quarrel upon

Account of Sháocat-djung resumed.

some past subject. Being then at a loss how to manage, I opened my arms to all contingencies, agreed to attach myself to him, and commenced frequenting his court. For a few days, the young man being much at a loss what to do with his own self, seemed studious of following my advice, (doubtless out of natural levity of temper,) and he made it a point to manage all his affairs mostly by my counsels, or at my desire: so that like the Vezir (47) in the game of Chés, I was close to a wooden King, that could neither think, nor speak a word, nor act, by himself. I was obliged to read him lessons about signing papers, giving audience, and supporting a character in public; and he was so intent on profiting by my lessons, that when I chanced to arrive too late at Court, he would stay all proceedings, and remain silent, until I was come. Such a conduct put me to a deal of trouble and embarrassment: he could neither read fluently, nor write legibly; so that I was obliged to be both his school-master, and his minister. I was obliged to direct his pen, teach him that *Aba* was written with two *A's* and a *Be*, and to tell him how to join *A* to the next letter, and a syllable to a syllable, and how to keep his words assunder: I thought he was improving his hand and mind; when one day, as there were many papers to be signed, he on a sudden shewed marks of impatience; and throwing his pen away, he rose, in a visible passion, from his mesnad, and went and sat at a distance from it. As there subsisted no reason of discontent between us, I did not ask what might be the cause of this sudden flash, but continued sitting a full hour; after which I rose, and taking a respectful leave, I was followed by all the persons present, and I went to Ro8h-eddin-huséin-qhan's house. This nobleman had espoused his sister, being a son of Séif-qhan the forgiven, and had an extreme regard for me. After taking my seat, I could not help mentioning with wonder that suddenness of behaviour in the young Prince, for which I could not account in any manner in my power. I had hardly done speaking, when a servant of Sháo-cat-djung's brought me a note, signed by his

(47) The Queen.

master: it was in these terms: *My Lord is my friend, and not my school-master; why does he give himself so much trouble about my reading and writing?* I answered, "that in this I had only acted as I had been desired to act; but now that I was better informed of his pleasure, I would no more give his Highness any trouble on that head;" and for some days, I let him do as he pleased, without offering a single word; until one day he came himself close to me, and with many importunities desired me again to oversee his reading and his signature. I desired to be excused, and added "that young Princes were of a fiery temper, and I, the Poor Man, fearful of offending; as I could not always guess what might be his Highness's pleasure: and that I hoped he would hold me excused." But he would not hear of my excuses; and he continued his importunities so assiduously, that fain I was to alter my conduct; but yet I only answered every question he put, or only taught whenever he desired it; and matters went on in that manner for some time; when one day there came a letter from Mir-djaaser-qhan, that exhorted him to stand up, and to wrest the whole of Aaly-verdy-qhan's estate from Seradj-ed-dó8lah's hands. He mentioned several commanders and grandees, "who, as well as Mir-djaaser-qhan himself, looked upon Sáyd-ahmed-qhan's son, as their only resource against the growing and daily cruelties of Seradj-ed-dó8lahs; and he pledged himself that he would be strongly and unanimously supported, as the enterprise was easy, and it only wanted some one to sit on the throne: in which case all the others would undertake to place him thereon, under certain conditions, and stipulations, which he mentioned at length (c)."

THIS letter, and some others of a like style, together with the concert that seemed to subsist between the principal men at Moorshoodabad, overfret entirely the brainless head of Sháocat-djung: and what contributed

(c) This is the first instance, probably, in the East, where people submitting to a Monarch, thought of tying him down to certain conditions and stipulations.

not a little to this disorder, was the arrival of two strange beings that appeared at the same time at P8rania: the one was a certain light-headed Mir-maali-qhan; one of the many ones that had a sister amongst Saadet-qhan's consorts, once sovereign of A8d. He made suddenly his appearance in Sháocat-djung's court, and as suddenly was taken into his service. This man, who was an antient friend of Mir-djaafer-qhan's, acquired a complete command over his mind; and as he soon became thoroughly acquainted with the young man's temper, he filled his head with chimeras. The other of these two men, was one Habib-beg, who had been for years together in Aaly-verdy-qhan's service, and was of a temper inclined to oddities, whims, and profligacy. This man having somehow fallen under Seradj-ed-dó8lah's displeasure, at Calcutta, had thought the place too dangerous for his safety, and had fled for his life to P8rania, where he also was enlisted amongst the friends and favorites of Sháocat-djung's: and these two men, in hopes of turning to account that young Prince's propensity to flattering proposals, took care to keep alive that high opinion which he had now conceived of himself; nor did they cease to flatter him to his heart's content. Totally ignorant of the world, and circumvented, as well as deceived, by the false representations of those sycophants, he thought that the misfortunes which had brought them so far, were so many advantages for himself; and now being full in the focus of flattery, he bubbled into high-flown notions of his person, which he really thought superior to any thing under the orb of the moon; and being made sensible by those two men of his own importance, he was often heard to say, "that after having taken possession of Bengal, he would, just to clear his way, fall first upon Ab8l-man8r-qhan's son, and then would subdue the son of Ghazy-eddin-qhan (48): and that after having placed on the throne an Emperor of his own liking, he would push on as far as Lahor and Cab8l, from

(48) The titles of these two persons are omitted by the speaker, through contempt; for the first was no less a man than Shudjah-ed-dó8lah, and the second was the Vezir, Sheab-eddin-umad-el-mulk, who dethroned both Ahmed-shah and Aalemghir second, his master.

" whence

" whence I shall proceed to Candahar and Qhorassan (49), where (added he) I intend to take up my residence, as the climate of Bengal does not suit my state of health." Such were the notions of that young man's, and such were his projects. But as his father had found means to open a correspondence with Zya-ed-dó8lah, and with Djelal-eddin-mahammed-qhan, who were the favorite friends of Mir-sheabeddin-umad-el-mulk, the Vezir, he soon obtained from thence leave to take possession of the three provinces governed by Seradj-ed-dó8lah, under condition of sending to the Presence the latter's confiscation, and of forwarding regularly an annual tribute of one coror of rupees.

ON the receipt of that patent, his pride, which had already reached to the sphere of the moon, now rose to the sun's orb; and he commenced picking up quarrels with the principal officers and commanders of the old court. Those men, whom his father had been at so much pains to attach to his person and family, and who had spent their lives in his service, were now taken to task for the childish reason of their having, in his youth time, disobeyed some orders of his, whilst they had injunctions to the contrary from his father, and of course acted consistently with their duty. Most of those old soldiers were now degraded, lost their appointments, or were used with contempt, to the heart-felt satisfaction of Mir-maaly-qhan, and of Habib-beg, his associate, as well as of all those who had been the companions of his boyish pastimes; and who being mostly as thoughtless as himself, were so far from repressing his ardor, that they would add fuel to it: all these beheld with satisfaction the depression of the old grandees, in hopes that they would soon succeed to their places; as they reckoned that every mark of contempt or disgrace set upon them, amounted to as much as a mark of distinction conferred upon themselves. The two new comers especially were the foremost in exacting him to a full

(49) The Qhorassan, the Easternmost province of Persia, is at least five hundred leagues from Persia.

execution of his authority, and mean while they were contriving opportunities to get from him rich dresses of honor, and elephants, and horses, and jewels, and new offices. As to my own part, seeing how matters went, I sometimes observed to them, "that they ought first of all to contrive how
 " to strengthen their Prince's government, and how to confirm his power;
 " and that this being once solidly established, it would be time then to think
 " of getting jewels and elephants." My observation did not avail: no attention was paid to it; and the Prince went on as he had commenced. One day he took into his head to seize and confine Lally, the Colonel, who commanded the artillery: a Gentoo of capacity and courage, whom Sáyd-ahmed-qhan, his father, had attached to his family by treating him with the utmost regard and distinction. He sent for both me and my younger brother, Naki-aaly-qhan, and having carried us into his closet, he exposed his views against that officer. I heard patiently what he said; but did not answer a single word: whereupon he intreated me to conceal nothing from him, but to tell him whatever I might think advantageous for his affairs, and proper for his circumstances. So much earnestness put me off my guard; and I could not help answering in these terms: "Let
 " us examine first, what is the reason that so many generals of the
 " army, and so many grandees of the state, have conceived so much
 " aversion against Seradj-ed-dó8lah's person, as to apply to you for
 " their deliverance, although he has unquestionably upon their grati-
 " tude all the rights acquired for him by Aly-verdy-qhan's repeated favors,
 " and long reign; and then it will be found out, that it is solely because
 " none of them think either their lives, or their honor, or properties safe;
 " because they have been every one of them insulted and outraged; and
 " because they think you incapable of so senseless a behaviour: but as soon
 " as they shall see that you do not spare your father's best servants; that
 " you are searching to circumvent and to demolish them; and that you
 " are no better than Seradj-ed-dó8lah himself; rest assured that they will
 " be disgusted at you, and will return to Seradj-ed-dó8lah." This advice

Wife advice
 given him by the
 author.

of

of mine, bold as it was, he had sense enough to approve; and sending for an elephant, he made me a present of it, and dismissed me to my home. But in few days after, his thoughtless companions brought him again to their own way of thinking: he resumed his project; and having found means, under hand, and on the incitement of a higher pay, to prevail on Lally's men to disperse, and to enlist in other corps, he put the rest under command of his own son, Séif-eddin-mahamed-qhan, a boy, born these two days; and getting upon his elephant, he marched in an hostile manner against Lally's house, and quarters. At sight of this, the few officers and men that had yet stood by that commander, forsook him, and he was left alone in his house. Mahmed-fáyd-qhan, and my younger brother, Naky-aaly-qhan, went in, and taking him by the hand, brought him to Sháocat-djung. This thoughtless man wanted to put him to the whip immediately: he was opposed by the two officers that had brought him, who strongly interceded in his behalf, and objected to the indignity of the proceeding: but all to no purpose; he persisted in putting him to the whip: at last Mahmed-fáyd-qhan, losing all patience, spoke to him in a firm tone of voice: "My lord and master," said he, "punishments of such a kind are not to be inflicted upon officers:" and these words having been approved by all present, they joined in interceding for him again; and at last the man was saved from the whip; but he was put under confinement, and his elephants, horses, money, effects, and furniture, were all seized and confiscated; so that the man, in one day, saw himself reduced to his last rupee. A few days after, his wife and family were ordered to attend him; and thirty rupees being put in his hand, to bear his charges, he was placed in a boat, sent on the other side of the Cosséy, towards Bir-nagur, and left to himself. After this expedition, Shaócat-djung assumed a higher tone of voice with his commanders: he spoke harshly, and in obscence language to them, and by such a strange alteration, he lost the hearts of every one of them. He now commenced speaking irreverently of his ancestors, and mentioning them in very indecent language. One day, sitting

in

in full court and at noon-day, at which time the hall of audience is always crowded, he turned towards the Commander in Chief, Car-guzar-qhan, and said: "Doubtless, Car-guzar-qhan, after the conquest of Bengal, shall compliment me with the pay of his new raised men." The officer, surprised at this speech, but without losing his presence of mind, answered directly: *Yes, my Lord and Master; for I hope they shall get so much booty, that they will not grudge such a portion of their pittance.* "You are mistaken, replied Shaocat-djung; I am not such a sot as Aaly-verdy-qhan, who always used to give to his men every thing that was found in an enemy's camp: for my part, I will not part to them with so much as a handful of straw, above their pay."

ANOTHER day Mir-maaly-qhan, who was now become Fodjdar of Siraniah, Navvab-gundj, and other places, having been sent for, to be put at the head of an expedition against Rung-p8r, came and presented a petition, which chanced to commence in these words: *Navvab Refuge of the world, greeting.* This expression of *Aalem-penab* having hit his fancy, he sent for Hazyr-aly-qhan, superintendant of his hall of audience, and directed that his mace-bearers and ushers should henceforward make use of that title in presenting people (50). But there is something still more curious: he sent for his secretary, and ordered him to write a letter to the Vezir, Umed-el-mulk, to this purport, and nearly in these terms: "As it is customary for people in writing to you, or in introducing any one, to

(50) When people of the first rank come to visit, the public introducer walks before them; but without saying a word; only he, or the head-mace-bearer, names by their titles such persons of high rank as are in the service. Others of an inferior rank, and in the service, are conducted to the end of the hall, by the head mace-bearer, who, whilst they make a profound bow, names them, and adds, as from them, these words: *renowned navvab greeting*; These are the words of *etiquette*. *Navvab namdar, salamet.* The Chop-dar is then upon the same line with them, and at their right. Persons, not in the service, are never named, unless indeed they be low people, or it be necessary to awaken the Prince's attention, actually engrossed by some other object; and then the salute of *etiquette* is omitted, although the mace-bearer salutes sometimes with the hand, at the very time the introduced makes a profound bow.

" address

“ address your Highness by the expression of *Navvab, Resource of all the*
 “ *inhabitants of the world, greeting; so I, who am your Highness's son, have*
 “ chosen for myself the title of *Aalem-penab*; and I hope that you shall
 “ condescend to make use of it, in writing to me.” After having forward-
 ed this letter, he accompanied it by eleven *Escherffies*, sent as a *nuzur*, or
 homage, for that new-fangled title of his contrivance. But here is more:
 his protectors at Court were *Zya-ed-dollah* and *Djelal-ed-din-mahmed-*
qhan; and to both he wrote “ That whoever should use any other title than
 “ that, would receive no answer, and would have his letter torne to shreds.”
 Such was his extent of mind. As to his morals, although he did not seem
 vicious, yet he dressed and spoke like a woman (a); but this did not prevent
 him from abusing, in a low and obscene language, every one whatever, with-
 out distinction, and that too in the fullest hall of audience: so that officers
 and commanders, dignified with the titles of *Hezarys* or Colonels, and *Baha-*
dyr or Courageous, submitted to such indignities, and remained silent; and
 such was the style of the Court, when that senseless *Mir-maaly-qhan*
 proposed to take possession of *Rangpoor*, and requested assistance: the
 request was immediately complied with, and an order issued accordingly. But
 no one could obey; the rainy season was at it's height, and the whole country
 under water; nor was any man fool-hardy enough to set out in such weather;
 so that the madman, *Mir-maaly-qhan*, finding so much slowness every where,
 set out himself, and contrived to advance, little by little, as far as three days
 journey; but after undergoing a deal of fatigue, he was obliged to stay where
 he was, without being able to advance one step farther.

(a) It was observed that although he made use of the most obscene and most infamous
 language, when speaking to his commanders and officers, he gave his household-people
 no other abuse than that used by women; and such are for instance the expressions of
Ningori, Ningora; Népstri, Né-pstra; Né-qbyfmi; Sir-mondi; Qhandi: which signify:
relationless woman or man; childless woman or man; husbandless; hairless, or head shaved;
she-laughter; and to be shaved, or without a head of hair, is a great opprobrium amongst
 all kinds of women; and to laugh is accounted a piece of levity amongst women of dis-
 tinction, who are allowed only to smile.

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Such

SUCH being the state of the Court, and of administration, the city of P8-
 raniah could not fail to be full of conventicles. People shocked at Sháocat-
 djung's shameful language, and tired to death with his no less shameful beha-
 viour, used to assemble in several houses; and there, in the middle of their
 friends, they exhaled their complaints. In several of these assemblies, the
 traitor Habib-beg had found means to introduce himself, as an associate and
 friend; but under the mask of friendship he listened to whatever was said, and
 used to report it to his master, whom he informed that the officers of his
 troops especially, had entered into a confederacy together, with intention to
 betray him. Nothing could be more false than such a report, and nothing more
 destitute of any foundation. It is true, that Car-guzar-qhan, the Commander in
 Chief, and many other officers of consequence, like Sheh-abdol-reshid, with
 many other men of note, had resolved to go to Court in a body, and to request
 him, with threats, to forbear the infamous language he made use of in speak-
 ing to them. It was resolved to inform him, "that, if after so fair a warning
 " he trespassed again, it would be at his peril." The intent of all which,
 after all, was only to frighten the thoughtless young man into a better beha-
 viour, and into a more decent language; and indeed this resolute proceeding
 had its full effect: the young Prince, now become sensible of his danger, sent
 for a number of them, and made publicly some concessions, promising them
 a better behaviour. All were satisfied by this promise; but the thoughts of
 betraying him, were disclaimed by all; and all turning their eyes upon
 Habib-beg, on whom they all fixed their suspicions, intreated the Prince to
 name the man that had given him so false an information; that he might
 point out his authority, in his and their presence, if he had spoke the truth; and
 if he had uttered a falsehood, that he might receive at their hands the chastise-
 ment he deserved. Habib-beg, confounded and embarrassed at finding all
 the eyes turned upon him, took the accusation up, and said, "that he had
 " not spoke of any treason; but only had given him to understand that
 " he would do well to alter his language and behaviour; as his people
 " were ready to abandon him, and one of the foremost of those would
 " be

“ be himself. ” But this construction, which he now put upon his own report, having been reprobated by all, as founded on falsehood, Sháocat-djung himself took a dislike to his new favorite: who finding himself loaded on the very spot with reproaches and taunts, by all his friends and acquaintances, then present; and observing also that he had now become an object of contempt and reproach to both sides, thought that there remained no other party for him, than that of quitting the world, where he had lost his character: laying down therefore both his arms and clothes on the spot, he exclaimed, that, “ if there should be a battle, he “ would stand by them; else he bid them his last farewell: *I am now a “ Fakyr, said he; and have done with the world,*” And luckily for him that he betook himself to that expedient; else, it was the general intention to chastise him rigorously in full court.

BUT although the breach betwixt the servants and the master seemed made up by this incident, yet the latter, who perceived their being estranged from him, took a dislike to all his officers and troops; and sending for some field pieces, with some of the men of the artillery, whom he could trust, he planted them at the gates of his palace; and placed a guard at each of them, with orders not to suffer any armed men to enter. As the officers, on their side, conceived a deal of mistrust from this behaviour, every one of them retired to his house, and declined going any more to Court; so that the Prince, finding himself deserted, was fain to give a counter order, and to admit every one, armed or not.

WHILST the Court of P8raniah was a prey to so much mistrust and misintelligence, news came that Lally, the Hezary, or Colonel, had been invited over to Moorshoodabad by Seradj-ed-dó8lah; and that the man, glad of the invitation, had repaired from Bir-nugur, to that capital. Sháo-cat-djung, on hearing of this, was extremely surprized and astonished; and he said publicly that “ if Lally had been capable of such a treason, “ after all the rights which the deceased Prince, his father, had acquired

“ over

“ over that officer’s gratitude, there was no expecting fidelity from any one else.” Strange indeed! that Sháocat-djung should remember so well the favors conferred by his father on that officer, and should forget at the same time the disgraces and injustices he had himself so recently heaped upon him; strange indeed! that after such a behaviour, he should expect gratitude and fidelity at the man’s hands! But such was his language, and such his turn of mind. To mention all his ridiculous and thoughtless actions would require volumes; and a pity it would be to consume ink and paper upon such a subject. Mean while Seradj-ed-dó8lah, informed of his hatred to him, of his impudence, his impatience, and his thoughtlessness; and apprised also of Mir-maaly’s motions, and of the behaviour and turn of mind of all his favorites, he resolved to try his pulse; and although a very strange man himself, he wondered at the strangeness of the report, and thought it better, if possible, to avoid coming to a rupture. But some fresher intelligence which he received, made him determine to put an end to his pretensions as soon as possible. As a prelude, he appointed Ras-Beháry, younger brother to Radja D8l8bram, to the Fodjdary of Bir-nagur, and Gondvara, both in P8ranjah; gave him the patents of it, and sent him to take possession, entrusting him at the same time with a letter for Shaocat-djung. Ras-beháry advancing as far as the shore opposite to Radjemahl, sent a *supplique* to Sháocat-djung, which contained his own request, and Seradj-ed-dó8lah’s letter; and mean while he stopped there to wait for Sháocat-djung’s permission to proceed. The purport of the letter was as follows: “ That as the two pergunahs or districts in question were going to be given in Djaghir to another at the Imperial court, he had thought it improper to suffer the introduction of a stranger in that country, and had rather chosen to assume them himself; as his own Djaghir, after having requested them in his own name; and as there was no difference between them two, and their interests were one and the same, he had sent Ras-beháry to take possession of them; requesting his being pleased to give him possession, and to send to Moor-shoodabad

Diffensions between the two Princely Cousins.

shoodabad an act of it." Such a letter could not but surprise Sháocat-djung: he resolved to ask counsel from his friends; and having assembled them, he also sent for me: these were Mir-maaly-qhan, and the Commander in Chief, and Habib-beg, and several other commanders, and grandees, whose fidelity he trusted: they all assembled; and I found them silent, when I arrived. On arriving, he opened the letter, and asked their advice on this overture. The whole assembly, to a man, turned it's eyes upon me, and all asked my opinion; the Prince did the same: but as I was discontented this long while, I contented myself with answering, that whatever his Highness would determine in his own mind, doubtless would prove the best party possible. He was not satisfied with this answer, and he intreated me so strongly, that being unable to resist any more, I answered in these very terms; " That as the rainy season was not
 " yet over, and there was no possibility for horses, or even for infantry
 " to move in the field, so as to excite any apprehensions, I thought it
 " would be proper to pass over with dissimulation and compliance that fa-
 " vorable time of release and safety; that we must therefore send for Ras-
 " beháry to court, and by fair promises and a civil behaviour, keep him
 " in suspense: but meanwhile that the Prince ought to write to Seradj-
 " ed-dó8lah a respectful letter, approving what he had done as very pro-
 " per; but adding at the same time, that as Sháocat-djung thought him-
 " self one of those intitled to favor and beneficence from the hem of his
 " princely robe, he supplicated that those two districts might be, in com-
 " pliance with the custom, left annexed to P8raniah, charging himself
 " with remitting to this treasury the Malg8zary or fixed revenue of those
 " lands. I added, that after writing the above letter, he must wait to see
 " what answer Seradj-ed-dó8lah would make: that meanwhile Ras-beháry
 " was to be used with regard and much civility; but that meanwhile, him-
 " self ought to turn to some benefit what remained of the rainy season, so
 " as to assemble his artillery and forces: that after the rainy season should
 " be over, it would be proper to make an alliance with the English, who

“ were reported to intend marching against Seradj-ed-dó8lah; and then
 “ only it would be time to act and advance, as time and occasion should
 “ point out.” This advice, thanks be to God, was approved by him;
 and he ordered the Secretary to draw up the letter in that style, paying me,
 at the same time, many encomiums; so many indeed that the Courtiers,
 according to their rivetted custom, thought it incumbent upon them to
 imitate their master, and even to go further; and they became so profuse
 in my praise, that he took a disgust at them; and altering his tone of voice,
 he broke out in these terms: *He is a man of sense indeed; but will ever his
 sense be equal to mine? he has the sense of ten thousand men concentrated in his
 brain; but I have that of several hundred thousands concentrated in mine: nor do
 I approve of his advice at all.* This said, he sent for Ras-beháry's mes-
 senger, and having reprimanded and buffeted the poor man, he sent for
 the Vezir's letter, which he looked upon as his patent, and ordered it to be
 read with a loud voice in full court: after which he gave a verbal answer
 in very rough terms to the messengers, and added a letter to Seradj-ed-
 dó8lah, in the same style. The purport of which was this: “ I have re-
 “ ceived from the Imperial Court the patent of the three provinces of Ben-
 “ gala, Bahar and 8ressa, in my own name; but as there subsists a brother-
 “ hood and a parentage between us, I forbear meddling with your life,
 “ and shall assign for your subsistence any part in the province of Djehan-
 “ gir-nugur-daca, which you shall like, and point out; and the patent of
 “ it I shall expedite, whenever you please. Meanwhile do retire into
 “ those parts, and leave the palace, treasury, and furniture to my officers:
 “ and take care to send me your answer speedily, as I am waiting for it
 “ with a foot in the stirrup.” The messenger returned to Ras-beháry,
 delivered the verbal message, and put the letter in his hand. The Prince
 shocked at what he called *mummery and farce*, resolved to march in
 person, and to chastise Sháocat-djung; and meanwhile he ordered Radja
 Ram-naráin to fall upon him on his side, with the forces of Azim-abad,
 and those of the Zemindars under his command. Ram-naráin, in com-
 pliance

Extravagant let-
 ter of Sháocat-
 Djung's to Se-
 radj-ed-dó8lah.

pliance with the order, set out with Radja-sunder-sing, and putting himself at the head of the forces of Azim-abad, which alone could not amount to less than the double of the forces at P8raniah, but which at any rate must have been a great deal more than equal, he marched against the enemy. As to the forces which Seradj-ed-dó8lah had with himself, part was sent under the command of his Divan, Radja-mohon-lal, with orders to cross the Ganga, and to fall upon the enemy on the side of Samdah, Bessent-poor-golah, and Háiat-po8r; and with the other part, he advanced to Radj-mahal, resolved to cross the Ganga there, whilst the governor of Azimabad being nearer, had already crossed over with his forces. Sháocat-djung, who had always had in his mind some day or other to come to war with Seradj-ed-dó8lah, and whose letters and messages to that Prince had now rendered it unavoidable, ordered his people to look out for a proper camp, where his army might rendezvous. His ministers, some of whom had belonged to his father, and were not destitute of abilities, pitched upon a spot at the entrance of the province, which was a difficult part, betwixt Maniári and Navvab-gung, as being surrounded every where by lakes and morasses, so that there was no approaching it but by a narrow passage, that ended in a narrow causeway. The lakes were every where two or three cosses over, and deep; and in some places, where they might be accessible in dry weather, the passage had been barred by a deep ditch, and a rampart; so that the post had become very strong, and such as would have enabled a sensible commander to defend himself in it for seasons together, with a small number of troops, against a numerous army; and that too without a possibility of his being assaulted, but with the utmost difficulty; for the back part was his own country, from whence supplies might be received with ease and facility. This post was approved of on all hands; but what is singular, the commanders of the troops, especially of his cavalry, out of disgust against his indecent way of speaking, were desirous of encamping at a distance from him; and himself, out of mistrust to them, was not pleased with having them for his neighbours: so that whilst the

cavalry

He prepares
for war.

cavalry was marching to the rendezvous, orders were sent to the troops to encamp on the shore of the little river Sonra, which was at about a cossé and a half, or even more, from his own tents; and these last had been pitched within the intrenched part. In consequence of such a disposition the principal commanders encamped at too great a distance from each other: these were Car-guzer-qhan, the Commander in Chief; Sheh-djehan-yar, his nephew; Sheh-abdol-refhid; Mir-f8ltan-qhalil-qhan; and some other persons of consequence. Amongst these was Mahmed-fâyd-qhan, son to that Ab8-t8rab-qhan-t8rani, who had been slain at the battle against the zemindar Adjadj8, in Saadet-qhan's service. There were several other commanders that had served under Séif-qhan; and I was there myself, with my younger brother Naky-aly-qhan. All these might be said to be the flower of the army. Shiam-funder, a Bengaly-cahet, who in fact commanded the artillery, (as there had not been any other commander of it, even in his father's life time, but Shâocat-djung himself), thought proper to encamp within the intrenched part; yet so as to have his station on that narrow tongue of land that ended in a causeway, and was the great passage in and out of Camp. In this manner this army of good troops, destitute of a chief and of a head, was encamped in two distinct portions, at about two cossés distance from each other. News arrived every day of the approach of Serâdj-ed-dô8lah's army. But on the day before the engagement, intelligence came, that the enemy's van guard was coming; and every one in our camp, although without any chief commander, prepared for defence. Some time after, intelligence came that the enemy had encamped at some distance, but that to-morrow they would come down for an attack. In the evening the spare tents of Shâocat-djung's were pitched; but without it being known yet when he would come: and we passed the night in that incertitude. The next day, being the twenty-first of Djemadi, in the year 1170 of the Hedjra, at about two hours after day-break, that Prince made his appearance: his officers and commanders immediately crowded around his tent, to pay their respects, and I was of the number; but such was his

his perverseness, that even at that moment, even at such a time, his front did not open; nor did he unknit his eye-brows; nor did he drop any thing, from whence one might conceive that he had dismissed those suspicions he had so unjustly conceived against his people; even at that time he neither said or did any thing calculated to gain their hearts. He contented himself with commanding his officers to return to their quarters, there to remain encamped as they were: so that those brave men were obliged, with broken hearts and dejected countenances, to repair to their encampment, which was on the right hand, that is at a full cossé and a half from the infantry; and there they remained, waiting for new orders. He remained himself in that spot, within which he had brought a number of gentlemen on horseback, that had no commander but himself; and also some corps on which he most trusted; such as that of Mir-merdan-aaly, a relation of Qhandö8ran, the Minister of State at Dehli: he commanded the body guards, and had distinguished himself by an ensign of cloth of gold. The other corps were commanded by Miten-lal, Divan to Sháocat-djung; by Séif-ed-din-mahmed-qhan, nephew to Aga-azimái: a gentleman, who, since Lally's disgrace, had been invested with the command of that officer's corps of about a thousand musqueteers; lastly by Sháocat-djung's own brother, Mirza-Ramazani, who went by the title of Hady-aaly-qhan-djessaret-djung, and had four hundred horse under his command. All these were taken within the fortified part of the camp, like a troop of beasts inclosed together in a net for the purpose of being shot at; and in this disposition, Sháocat-djung thought he provided for the safety of the intrenchment, although he thereby put a distance of full two cossés betwixt one part of his army and the other. Whilst he was giving such senseless orders with a peevish tone of voice, there happened to be close to him an old Afghan officer, Omer-qhan by name, who had been introduced into the service by Mir-s8ltan-qhalil-phan, where he commanded a body of four hundred horse: he was an old officer, and an old warrior, who had seen a variety of services. On observing the Prince draw near, he

had turned out his troop, in compliment to him; but even such a mark of respect did not soften his mind; nor would he abate any thing of his wonted peevishness of expression, and severity of looks: he only took care, by the harshness of his language, to disgust all those brave soldiers, to a man. By this time the two-thirds of the day being spent, Seradj-ed-dó8lah's army, under the command of Mohon-lal, his Divan, was making it's appearance, betwixt Abari and Maniary; and it's standards, planted on a high ground, were descried from afar; nor was the distance betwixt the two armies in any sense more than two cosses. As every one was doing as he pleased in our army, Shiam-sunder, the Comptroller of the Artillery, who wished to shew his courage and zeal, but who in reality betrayed only his ignorance and inexperience, quitted at once the post where he was within the intrenchment, and going out of the neck of land, he planted his artillery at about half a cosse farther, and of course at about one cosse and a half from the enemy, which latter shewed themselves from the south and west. By taking that position, Shiam-sunder deprived himself of the protection of the intrenchment, and of the benefit of the lake; for he had advanced beyond the lake. However, on the other side, where the main body of the Bengal army was showing itself northward and southward, there remained still a broad lake, of about two cosses over, between them and Sháocat-djung's army; but Mohun-lal having advanced with the principal officers of his army, amongst whom were Mir-djaafer-qhan, and the two friends, Dost-mahmed-qhan, and Mir-cazem-qhan, with the two brothers, Dilir-qhan, and Affalet-qhan, both sons to Omer-qhan, pitched his tents on an eminence upon the shore of the Ganga, where he stopped, out of precaution, ordering his light artillery to be placed in front, and to fire on the enemy; but the distance was so great that most of the balls fell in the lake: this was not the case with the large artillery, which being by this time come up, it's ball went beyond the lake, and one or two of them fell within the intrenchment. Sháocat-djung, on observing that the balls could reach him, ordered the insignia of his dignity,

that

that is the Mahi (51), to be lowered down, and carried at some distance; and he reprimanded the servants that stood round him, as if those traitorous fellows, by thronging round his person, had wanted to render him as conspicuous as a mark to fire at. The poor people immediately dispersed, and went at some distance; still he was not satisfied, and could not abide in one place. Umer-qhan, the old officer above spoken of, happening to be near, could not help expressing himself in these terms: “ My
 “ Lord and Master, (said he), what kind of battle is this? I can make no-
 “ thing of it; nor did I ever see any such thing in all my wars in Decan,
 “ nor under Nizam-el-mulk: this is not the way: here every one does
 “ as he likes. The troops must be assembled in one place, and ranged
 “ in battle array; and the artillery must be stationed in front; and the
 “ men must march together, and in a compact body, and stand their
 “ ground with firmness; and then only victory and success may be expect-
 “ ed.” Sháocat-djung took the remonstrance ill, gave abusive language to Nizam-el-mulk, and said: “ *I have no occasion to be taught what I am to do: for I have fought myself three hundred battles.*” The old officer, after this rebuke, hung his head; but added not a word. It was after giving this rebuke, that he remembered of the Commander, Car-guzar-qhan, and of the other officers whom he had placed at such a distance with their cavalry; and he sent a trooper to ask them, *why they remained motionless, as so many marks for the enemy's balls? doubtless you have not the heart to fall upon them, I suppose.* The trooper went, delivered his message, and brought this answer: “ To attack so superior an enemy with our small force, would be highly im-
 “ prudent; and were we ever so well inclined, the lake and its miry borders
 “ would effectually prevent us: let the enemy advance themselves, as they do
 “ actually: after they shall have fatigued themselves in emerging from the
 “ mire, and shall then have received some discharges of artillery and mus-
 “ quetry, it will be time then to fall upon an enemy so weakened and disor-

(51) Figure of a fish, four feet in length, in copper gilt, carried horizontally on the point of a spear.

"dered; and if the case happens as we conjecture, we shall then do as we
 "shall be able to afford; and such an advantage is all that our small num-
 "bers can pretend to." This answer raised his anger; he dropped some
 coarse, abusive language, and sent back the man with this message: *Do
 not talk like so many cowards; a Gentoo, such as Sbiam-funder, has advanced
 out of the intrenchment with my artillery, and is now pouring his balls amongst
 the enemy; and you that pretend to be such mighty commanders, stay behind to
 talk of prudence and caution:* By this time it was already noon; and until
 the horseman might carry this rebuke and bring an answer, more time
 would be spent; and in fact, there remained now but one third part of the
 day; but Sháocat-djung, who had already taken his dose of bang, was by
 this time inclined to give vent to the fumes of it (52), and to amuse himself
 with listening to the songs of his women: for being now incapable to hold
 up his head, he alighted from his elephant, and went into his sanctuary.
 On seeing this I retired with some other officers into the audience tent, where
 on sitting down, I could not help saying these words: "The day is now far
 "spent, and there remains no more now than one third part of it; if we
 "can pass over that space of time, without any accident, we must sleep as
 "we can to-night; and to-morrow, after having taught common sense to
 "this blockhead, we shall join together, and march out in a body to fight
 "together; and then happen what it will; but fight we shall in a body at
 "least." After having said these few words, I got up, with intention to
 go over to the cavalry, incamped at a cossé and a half distance, in which
 was my brother Naky-aly-qhan. But on coming out of the intrenchment,
 in my way thither, I perceived that Car-guzar-qhan, with Habib-beg, and
 Mir-So8ltan-qhalil-qhan, unable to put up with the taunts conveyed by
 the horseman in his third trip, had put themselves at the head of the
 cavalry, and were crossing the lake with all the pains imaginable; and

(52) An intoxicating drug, made by pounding in water the sommities of a kind of
 hemp. It is thick, of a dirty green, and more common, as well as fifty times cheaper,
 than gin is in England.

they had only the other half to wade through, and would soon be engaged. This sight struck me: I stopped, and said to myself: "I am too far off: nor
 " can I pretend to join them in time. Unhappily our troops are strange-
 " ly dispersed: our best commanders with their cavalry are wading
 " through mud and water, while the enemy is endlessly firing upon them
 " with their rockets and artillery; and if they be able to cross over at all,
 " it shall be after they shall have been thoroughly thinned in their num-
 " bers, and spent with fatigue: if they be not, they shall to a man perish
 " in the lake. As to Shiam-sunder with his musqueteers, he is at a great
 " distance from them: God only knows whether he has a mind to join and
 " support them; and if he does, whether he shall have it in his power;
 " and if he has it, whether he shall arrive betimes. Our two armies will
 " be beaten then, one after another, and without being able to effect a junc-
 " tion. Better to return back, and to advise this thoughtless youth: if I can
 " get him upon his elephant, and with what troops are here, he make haste
 " to join his cavalry, I am not without some hopes." After this soliloquy,
 I came back, and having advanced close to his quarters, I found that he
 was listening to songs, and amusing himself with dances; but on being in-
 formed that his cavalry, and Shiam-sunder's musqueteers being joined, were
 advancing towards the enemy; he got, half drunk, upon his elephant,
 where I saw that he could hardly support himself. Already the troops en-
 camped with him, and which had retired to their tents, were assembling
 from all parts round his person; but meanwhile a whole hour was lost
 in these motions; and meanwhile the troops that were crossing the lake,
 were already engaged, but in a disorderly, confused manner. I was urging
 Sháocat-djung to advance to support his men; but he could not support
 himself; he was out of his senses; and at every tenth step, he would lay
 his hand on the driver's shoulder, to make him stop. I urged still, without
 being discouraged, as his presence alone would be of some use, and his
 people were hastening about him. But already as we were getting out of
 camp, I could observe that the cavalry, having at last crossed the lake,

under the enemy's fire, were now engaged with a stiff mud and dangerous mire, from whence few could get out; and mean while they were shot at like so many marks: so that most of them being killed or wounded, before they could join the enemy, and the others being unable to stand their ground even there; they gained the firm land, but it was to fly at a distance.

On observing this, Mir-djafer-qhan advanced upon them, with Mir-Cazem-qhan, and Umer-qhan, and all his cavalry; and falling sword in hand upon our dispersed men, they drove them every where before them, without the latter having been able to make a junction of their small numbers, or to be joined by us. In this manner many of our brave commanders, overpowered by numbers, fell, uselessly to themselves, and to us. Abdol-rashid and Mahmed-fayd-qhan, after performing feats of valour, drank manfully the bitter cup of death, as did Mir-soltan-qhalil himself. Aaly-naky-qhan and Habib-beg, who had lost their horses, and fought on foot, were severely wounded; and being taken prisoners, they were conserved alive, as being known to Mir-djafer-qhan and to Dost-mahmed-qhan. Sheh-mahmed-yar-qhan finding himself left alone, performed what could be expected from so brave a man; and he retreated safe, carrying with him Car-guzar-qhan, who had heroically exerted himself, and had received several dangerous wounds. Shiam-funder fled also, but much wounded. The commanders of the enemy's, having so easily defeated this advanced moiety of our army, formed again, and advanced in order, against those they saw about Sháocat-djung's person. On sight of this, Mir-merdan-aaly, who commanded his body-guards, and Miten-laal, who commanded the foot guards, turned about, with Mirza-ramzani, brother to the Prince, and, without waiting for the enemy, they fled full speed. Séif-eddin-mahmed-qhan, who had succeeded Lally, fled also, after receiving several wounds: none of his musqueteers would stand by him. Sháocat-djung, now left alone with only fourteen men, one of whom was myself, was totally out of his senses, when a musquet ball

ball lodging into his forehead, made him return his soul to its maker: ^{Shao-cat-djung} his serpitch and yellow turbant fell on the ground, and were taken up ^{defeated and slain.} by somebody. Finding now that all was over, I went away, with the very few that remained; and then we dispersed, each going to his home. Mir-morteza, who bore the surname of Emir-qhani, for having served under the famous Emir-qhan, and was now one of the favorites of Mir-djafer qhan's, having spurred his horse towards the elephant that carried Shao-cat-djung's body, ran a small lance (one of those iron ones, called *Barchys*,) with so much force, that it ran from behind into Mirza-rostem-aaly's shoulder, (who sat in the qhavvas) (53), and came out on the opposite side, close to the neck: he at the same time called out, *Surrender, and let me have those arms of your's.* The man to whom he spoke was a brave officer, of much personal merit, and much zeal in the sect of the Imamites, of which he was an intrepid assertor: roused by the wound, he drew his sabre, and turning to the spear-man, "*And who art thou, said he, that darest to ask my arms, whilst I am alive? Do'st thou believe that I wear them to surrender them to such a fellow as thee, that has wounded me from behind? Come near, and I will give thee the arms; draw but near, if thou darest.*" Mir-morteza would not go nearer; and the elephant continued his route. The evening coming on, put an end to the contest; but nobody pursued, and every one on both sides retired to his home, without any hindrance from the peasants of P8raniah, who were not courageous enough to come down in numbers, and to plunder the living, or strip the dead, as they do in Hindostan. As to us, my brother and I, who were objects of resentment to both sides, our case was more embarrassing: Shao-cat-djung had been heard to say, that as soon as he should have gained the victory, he would make an example of those two men, who were more refractory than all the others put together, and whom so many had taken up for their patterns: and Seradj-eddó8-

(53) The sedan, or throne, or saddle, placed on an elephant, is always divided in two unequal parts, the hindmost of which affords room for one man, and is called Qhavvas.

lah, on his side, used to say " that Sháocat-djung was a negative, passive
 " youth, pushed-on by these two men, who were his advisers, and
 " the authors of all the troubles: and that after the victory
 " he would take care to punish them both as they deserved."
 Once he wrote us a letter, to invite us over to his army, under
 promises of promoting us to the utmost of our wishes, should we
 quit Sháocat-djung's service. But we did not write him an an-
 swer, lest we should expose ourselves to a variety of reports: we
 contented ourselves with giving the messenger this verbal answer:
" Tell your master, that should we now go over to his service, at such a
" time as this, what confidence could be repose in us?" It seems that the
 victorious remembered of this answer: for two or three days after the
 battle, he, of his own motion, ordered both Naky-aaly-qhan, and Habiba-
 beg, his prisoners, to be put each in a chopalah, or chair, and carried
 beyond the Kurrum-nassa, with a sufficient sum of money to bear their
 charges. He at the same time, sent Radja-mohun-lal to take possession
 of the treasures and effects of Sháocat-djung's, and ordered Mir-cazem-
 qhan to attend on him with his corps. As this officer was son-in-law
 to my maternal aunt, he took the liberty to represent to that Prince that
 " Ghoslam-husséin-qhan, if alive, must be at P8raniah, with his consort,
 " children, and family, as well as his brother Naky-aaly-qhan's family;
 " and that he hoped from his goodness that no ill usage should be offer-
 " ed to either, as it might affect his slave's honor, or cast a slur on his
 " sentiments of attachment to that family. May it please your Highness
 " (added he) to give your princely orders to the Maha-radja according-
 " ly." By a particular good luck, it happened that this minister was himself
 present; and the Prince turning to him, said these very words: *Radja-mohon-*
" lal, you must not think that Gh8lam-husséin-qhan's mother is only related
" to the brave Mir-cazem-qhan: she is my own aunt; and I profess a high
" regard for her: take care that no injury is offered them: furnish them
" with

*“ with money and with a pass, that they depart with safety and decency:
 “ and that they may repair whithersoever they may have a mind to.”*

THIS order was the more opportune for us, as from the field of battle, I had repaired directly to my house in P8raniah, where I knew that my mother, overcome by her fears and anxiety, was beside herself. I endeavored to console and comfort her; but she observed, that we must now seek out for some corner, and live in it in retirement, until we might see what would be the end of all these troubles. I listened to the advice, and taking my consort, and a small number of attendants, I retired into a corner, where I remained concealed, and from thence I wrote to Mir-cazem-qhan; (may God's forgiveness be upon that good man); on receiving my note, he answered it directly, and accompanied it by some troopers of his own, who had orders to protect my lodgings. Himself set out on the third day after the battle, and came to P8raniah in company with Radja-mohun-lal, where he took up his abode in my lodgings, and from whence he spared no pains in saving my property, and in protecting my person; exerting himself in the handsomest and noblest manner. Mohun-lal, it is true, sent for the elephants and some of the serpiches that had been presented me by Sháocat-djung, but laid his hands upon nothing else: some persons, like Mir-maaly-qhan, and Aga-mir, with some others, were confined, by the Prince's order: but no opposition was made to my sending by land part of my baggage, and by water all my furniture, and every thing belonging to me; after which I set out myself for Azim-abad. When arrived there, some Musulmen our acquaintances, took care to have us refused the liberty of coming into the city; and we therefore took up our abode in Shah-erzan's cell and habitation, an old acquaintance of mine, who prevented us from going farther: this however was doubtless in hopes of our being overtaken by some subsequent order, that would not please us, but would afford him much pleasure. Praise be to God, that his

Distressful
situation of the
Author's.

expectation was disappointed, and that the order he so much wished did not arrive at all. Luckily for us, that Ram-naráin, the Governor of the province who had been to visit his Badjinat (55), chanced now to return to Azim-abad, where he had the goodness to urge our departure; and unwilling to give us an escort himself, he gave us a pass, but directed Phaluvan-sing and his brother to afford us the escort. Meanwhile I fell sick in that cell of Shah-erzan's, and was very ill; but none of our numerous friends and acquaintances in the city thought proper to pay us a visit or to see how we did. Out of such a number of acquaintances, only three persons thought proper to remember us: the first was Doctor Gh8lam-aaly-qhan, a Physician (whom God may lodge in a corner of his mercy!) he came to see me, just as he had done in our days of prosperity, and afforded me his visits as a friend, and his care and medicines, as a Physician. The second, was the Lady Misri-begum (56); she was a relation of Mirza-darab's, daughter of Mir-seyed-mahmed the Ispanian, and a consort to Mir-háider-aaly the forgiven. May God Almighty preserve that worthy lady in health and prosperity, and may he vouchsafe to render her happy in the next world! With a motherly tenderness, and the most sedulous solicitude, she was day and night with us; and she accompanied us in our journey, as far as Muhyb-aaly-p8r; so that it required our joint efforts, and our entreaties, to make her return: else, her intention was to accompany us as far as the Kuremnassa, which was the last boundary of Seradj-ed-dó8lah's dominions. We live now at a distance from her: but even at such a distance this chaste, pious, and worthy lady exerts for this Poor Man all the

(55) Probably this name indicates some place of worship, or the performance of some religious duty.

(56) These two words might be translated by the expression the *Princess Sugarcandy*; for *Begum* signifies Princess. However it must be observed that it is become an appellation added to their names by all daughters of Séyds; just as the daughters of Moguls are styled *Qhanums*, and those of Hindostanees, *Bibis*; which two last words signify *Lady*, all over India and Persia; but *qhanum*, in Turkey, signifies, Princess as well as all over Tartary.

solicitude of the tenderest mother. The third person who remembered us, was the late Sheh-nafr-ollah, son to Ynáyét-yahhia-qhan, heretofore steward to my forgiven father, and in the sequel, to Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, Governor of Azim-abad, (on whom may God's mercy rest forever!) he was then a young man, and had been so lucky, as to have obtained, through the pious and worthy Shah-mahmed-aaly-hezin's intercession, the post of steward to the Nizamut of Azim-abad. This young man, under pretence of visiting Shah-erzan's monument, came several times to see me; nor did he miss any means in his power to procure us a safe retreat out of Seradj-ed-dó8lah's dominions: God be thanked for it; by a particular disposition of his infinite goodness, we travelled in safety throughout that hostile country, which was before us; and I arrived in health, with all my family and effects at the city of Banarefs; where I had the happiness to kiss the feet of that venerable, pious man, his Highness Sheh-mahmed-hezin; and the honor of paying my respects to my maternal uncle, Séyd-abdol-aaly-qhan, the Valiant in Battles; who was then out of employment, and lived in that city in the utmost distress. As an addition to my good luck, I met in the city my younger brother Nacky-aly-qhan, who had been so fortunate as to get safe out of the hands of such a tyrant as Seradj-ed-dó8lah. I also met there my two other brothers, who had been already banished some time ago from Azim-abad, by order of that Prince. Thanks are due to God Almighty, for these benefits, and for the many such benefits, which I have received besides in the course of my life; thanks and glory be to his goodness, for every one of them! Mohon-lal employed the few days he remained at P8raniah in assembling and sending to Moorshoodabad the treasures and effects of Sáyd-ahmed-qhan, as well as his women, and children, which latter were kinsmen and relations of Seradj-ed-dó8lah's. To these he added Sipahdar-djung, son to Séif-qhan, who was also sent with the utmost regard and honor to Moorshoodabad. This nobleman had espoused one of Sáyd-ahmed-qhan's daughters; a Princess that died when her father was engaged in the expedition

expedition against Mahmed-djelil, the Zeminder of Cagra. Mohon-lal also took care to resume the many extravagant gifts which Sháocat-djung had at times bestowed; and after establishing order in the country, so as to arrange every matter of government, and finance, he appointed a person to act as his deputy, and repaired to his master; who took care to assign suitable pensions to every one of his cousins: he carried them to his capital, where he took up his abode in a new Palace of his, called Mans8r-gunj, and lived in all the pride of victory and prosperity.

Seradj-ed-dó8-
lah's prosperity
declines.

THIS Prince, now in the full blaze of success, had now assembled in his palace, all the treasures hoarded up by several preceeding Princes, with an infinity of precious effects and jewels, that had been the fruit of the searches and toil of several illustrious houses and families: he seemed then in the zenith of power and prosperity; but it was at this very time that preparations were making for his ruin; and it was at this very time his fortune was verging to a decline. Nor is this a novel thing: it is the constant course of events all over the world, that whenever things have risen to their zenith, they after that period verge towards a decline, and tend to their ruin: for every completion naturally advances to a declension, and sometimes brings it on in so complete a manner, that people have been at a loss how to find out the footsteps and traces of former prosperity. The manner in which Seradj-ed-dó8lah's fortune and dominion were brought to that predicament is, in few words, as follows:

Mr. DRAKE, that Chief Man of Calcutta, who had been the author and cause of all these troubles and all this ruin, having fled on board a ship with a few gentlemen that had escaped the engagement, had retired to Mendradj, a factory of consequence, which the English have in Decan, in the province of Arcat; and probably he was followed thither by some other English, of the better sort, who
being

being then dispersed all over Bengal for the purposes of trade, had found means, after the capture of Calcutta, to make good their way to Decan, through a variety of dangers. There was then in those parts a commander in the King Inghilter's service, but appointed to attend on the Company; an officer who after many years war had conquered several countries of Decan from the French, and was now living at Mandradj, where he commanded a small force that did not amount to more than one or two Paltans of Talingas (57), and three or four companies of European soldiers. This Commander, by his many victories over the French in Decan had been greatly instrumental in rescuing from their overgrown influence the sovereign of that country, Sáyd-mahmed-qhan-selabet-djung, son to Nizam-el-mulk. So many successes had procured him the title of *the Steady and Tried in War* (58), and he was considered as a warrior of consequence. This commander having assembled the principal men of the factory of Mendradj, together with those that had escaped from the hands of Seradj-ed-dó8lah, threw the dice of consultation amongst them. The unanimous result of their deliberations was, that the brave, the Tried in Battles, Colonel Clive, should repair into Bengal with those gentlemen that had escaped from thence, and should endeavour by every means which he could devise, to rebuild the factory there, and to re-establish the Company's trade in the manner it had existed heretofore. This he was at liberty to effect, whether by paying a sum of money, or by force and violence, just as circumstances should point out. Colonel Clive, after this deliberation, embarked on board of some ships, together with the gentlemen escaped from the factory of Calcutta; and taking with him what troops and artillery were ready and at hand, he arrived with his ships at that part

General Sabut-
djung, alias Co-
lonel Clive, ap-
pears in Bengal.

(57) This word is a corruption of the English word Platoon, which comes itself from the French Peloton.—The word *Talinga* is used in Bengal, and in the countries around, to signify those native disciplined soldiers called by Europeans *Sipahes*; a word which in Hindostany signifies no more than soldiers, army men.

(58) *Sabut-djung*.

of the river called the *Blue-water* (59), where the Bagrauty joins the sea, and where he cast anchor. But as the commanders of that nation are prudent, wary, and experienced in affairs, as well as extremely brave in a day of battle, he thought it incumbent upon him, first of all, to try what could be done in the way of negotiation; and with that view he wrote to Seradj-ed-dó8lah, "to intercede in behalf of Mr. Drake, whose trespasses he requested might be forgiven; to offer some lacs of rupees for leave to rebuild the English factory, on the former footing; and to re-establishing the English trade in his dominions: a salutary measure, by which he doubted not but the dust of dissension and mutual discontent might be wiped off from each other's eyes." Seradj-ed-dó8lah, who was the most senseless and ignorant of men; and who had favourites still more extravagant than himself, held a consultation with his grandees, upon these proposals; but found not a man that would advise him to accept of a peace on the proffered conditions: for the English being known in Bengal only as merchants, neither himself, nor any of his favourites, had any idea of the courage and abilities of that nation in war, nor any idea of their many resources in a day of reverse: and on the other hand, those that had some right notions of the matter, did not dare to open their mouth; and indeed had they opened it, no one would have listened to their words; besides that every one of them, tired with Seradj-ed-dó8lah's government, and reduced to despair by his tyranny, wished ardently to see him embarked in some enterprise that might end in his ruin. It was even dangerous to say any thing of peace; and if any one did dare to say as much, he never failed to be laid hold of by the others: those ignorant favourites of his, would seize the adviser by the throat, and gripe it so hard as to make him ask for quarter, and swear that he would never mention that tale of his again.

(59) The water is white there at all times, especially for nine months of the year; but the Bengalees have no other word to design the sea, alias the *bitter water*, *calá pani* or *cara-pani*.

ADVICES of all this having been duely imparted to Colonel Clive, and himself being now fully apprised of the diffensions sown in the country, and of the peculiar turn of mind of all the grandees of the Court; he grew tired of waiting to no purpose for an answer, which no one thought of sending, and he prepared himself for acting with open force, and for an offensive war: he brought his ships to an anchor over against Manic-chund's lodgings, and commenced a cannonade; but having soon observed in the enemy's motions much ignorance and confusion, he landed his men and artillery, and marched against him. The senseless governor of the place, intimidated by so much boldness, and not finding in himself courage enough to stand an engagement, thought it prudent to decline a nearer approach, and he fled with all his might. The English General seeing the enemy disappeared, took possession of the factory and fort, raised every where his victorious standards, and sent the refugee gentlemen every one to his ancient abode, and every one to his own home. Such a piece of intelligence having soon been conveyed to Moorshoodabad, could not fail to disorder greatly that stuffing of pride and ignorance, with which Seradj-ed-dó8lah had been at so much pains to fill his head and ears; and he prepared to come to Calcutta to oppose the progress of the English. Such being the instability of human things, that two months and twenty-two days had hardly elapsed since the conquest of P8raniah; and hardly had that Prince commenced to repose in his palace in the security of success and victory, when at once there appeared signs of that retribution due to his actions, as well as tokens of the declension of his power. It was the 12th of the second Reby, in the year 1170, when he quitted his capital to march to Calcutta, fully bent on expelling the English. He was followed by a numerous army, furnished with every necessary for war. Being near Calcutta, he encamped in a spot of ground that had hit his fancy, and which he thought advantageous likewise: from thence he was every day making attempts to recover possession of that town, and yet every day listened to proposals of peace: insomuch that both war and peace subsisted

Calcutta re-
taken by the
English.

A. D. 1757.

sisted at one and the same time; whilst the English, who had their particular views in that doubtful state of things, made it a practice now and then to come into camp, under pretence of an agreement, but in fact to examine it, as they intended all this while to surprise the enemy; and such a man-œuvre required a man that should take a full knowledge of the chart of the country. They took care therefore to send with their envoys a man conversant in Geometry, and who to that talent added an enlarged understanding, a keen memory, and much accuteness of comprehension. This man, in his frequent trips acquired a comprehensive notion of Seradj-ed-dó8lah's camp, as well as of his own private quarters, with all the roads that led thither, and every other important matter, that had a relation to his object: so that after having hoarded up all that knowledge in his memory, he made on his return a very circumstantial report of what he had observed. Probably the next night after that man's return, but certainly two or three nights after, the English, who had formed the project of a night-attack, put their troops in boats at about two in the morning, and rowed towards the extremity of the enemy's camp, where they remained waiting during the latter part of the night: at about the dawn of the day they landed on the back part of the army, and entered the camp, where they leisurely commenced a hot fire, which being repeated by those in the boats, rendered musquet-balls as common as hail stones in a storm; so that vast numbers of men and horses, which happened to be exposed to it, were slain or wounded. Dost-mahmed-qhan, who was not only a principal commander in the army, and a man of great personal valour, but also one of the most attached to Seradj-ed-dó8lah, was wounded and disabled. Numbers of other officers, whose names I know not, underwent the same fate; and it is reported that the design was no less, than to lay hold of Seradj-ed-dó8lah himself, and to carry him away. Luckily for him, there fell such a fog and mist, of the kind called in Hindian, *cobessa*; and it occasioned such a darkness, that two men, though ever so close, could not distinguish each other. This darkness made the enemy mistake their way;

as well as Seradj-ed-dó8lah's private enclosure; so that this Prince escaped narrowly. It was observed of the English, that they marched steadily, with order and deliberation, as if it had been a review day, firing endlessly on every side, until they arrived at the front of the camp, from whence they returned leisurely to their posts and fortified houses, without suffering the loss of a single man.

THIS strange attack intimidated to a high degree both Seradj-ed-dó8lah, and his disorderly, timorous army, which was in such a dismay and confusion, as to anticipate all the horrors of the day of judgment. Henceforward it became dangerous to remain encamped close to an enemy, so daring, and so alert; and he resolved to carry his camp farther; but first of all, he sent for Mahmed-iredj-qhan, his father-in-law, as well as for the principal grandees of his court, and the chief commanders of his army; and having assembled them in his tent, he asked them what was now to be done; and where he must encamp? The assembly, on observing his fright and panic, advised him to encamp at a good distance, and to listen to proposals of peace. But by this time the English, fully sensible of his pusillanimity, and thoroughly acquainted with the intrigues in his court, had altered their tone of voice; and they talked of his making good the whole amount of what had been plundered by himself or by his army at the sac of Calcutta: an amount that rose to an immense sum. At last, after many interviews, and much negotiation, and many schemes about war and peace, it was agreed on both sides, that Seradj-ed-dó8lah should make good in ready money the amount of the loss undergone by the Company; and that as a security for the other losses, he should deliver into the hands of the English six pergunahs or districts in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, with the product of which they were to indemnify themselves fully; after which the districts in question were to revert to the Navvab's officers. Mr. Watch, was the person employed in these negotiations, and in the conclusion of the treaty, where he acquired the goodwill of both parties, and was applauded by both sides. This man had

The Navvab
submits to a dis-
graceful peace.

been taken prisoner at Cassima-bazar, but had recovered his liberty on Seradj-ed-dó8lah's defeat. The mutual bonds and obligations being exchanged, that Prince decamped from the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and returned to Moorshoodabad. There on revolving in his palace of Man-fo8r-gunj upon the catastrophe he had met with, he was confounded with wonder at a reverse of fortune of which he never had so much as conceived an idea; and he was at a loss what party to take: he now remembered some matters that had passed, and some actions of his now recurred to his mind: he now commenced feeling remorse; and he became sensible that there was such a being as an avenging God. His generals and friends now commenced to desert his court; and Dost-mahmed-qhan, one of his bravest and most zealous commanders, obtained leave to retire, in order to get cured of his wounds; so that he availed himself of that permission to go to Sarfaram, as a place of safety, where he might lodge his family and children. Mir-djaafer-qhan himself ceased to go to court, and he lived retired in his own quarters. As that general, as well as Radja-dollub-ram were at the head of the army, and they seemed of late to have become a different sort of men from what they had been, Seradj-ed-dó8lah concluded that they must be at the head of the malecontents, and the very persons that blew the fire of dissension: of course that they deserved an exemplary punishment. But he had not the courage necessary for such a vigorous action: he remembered moreover that he had such an enemy as the English at his elbow; and on the other hand, his innate pride and vanity, as well as his natural perverseness and ignorance, did not allow his making up matters with those two commanders, by such a conduct as might recover their hearts: nor did he feel in himself vigour enough to seize their persons by open force, and to exile them from the regions of life and existence; nor was there any one amongst those new ministers, favourites, and generals of his, (every one of whom was as incapable and as thoughtless as himself,) that had courage enough to acknowledge his own unfitness for such important concerns, and to advise
his

his master to alter his system of conduct; and instead of consuming himself with cares, anxieties and bodily labour, to call together the antient ministers and generals formed by Aaly-verdy-qhan, to gain their hearts by a condescending behaviour, and to entrust them with the management of his affairs. His new favorites ought in such a distressed state of his affairs, to have laid down their own pretensions, and exhorted him to call to his assistance all the abilities and talents of his kingdom: they ought to have said with a common voice: " My Lord, to compleat our wishes, and
 " to fill the measure of our ambition, is an easy matter. Whenever you
 " are yourself powerful, and honored, some beams of your own glory
 " shall surely be reflected on our own persons; but now think only of putting at the head of your affairs those old generals and ministers that have
 " already a character." This was the language which they ought to have held, and which no one would hold. But his own thoughts were so uncertain as yet, and so fluctuating was his behaviour, that after having been for some time intent on schemes of reconciliation, he was at once so overcome by his anger and resentment, as to order cannon to be planted against Mir-djafer-qhan's house. Radja-dollob-ram was no less dissatisfied, and difficult to manage; he would not hear of submitting to Mohun-lal's superiority: and on the other hand Djaagat-feat, the principal citizen of the capital, whom he had often used with slight and derision, and whom he had mortally affronted, by some times threatening him with circumcision, was in his heart totally alienated and lost.

Just at this crisis the flames of war broke out between the French and the English: two nations that had disputes amongst themselves of five or six hundred years standing; and which, after proceeding to bloodshed, wars, battles, and massacres, for a number of years, would lay down their arms by common agreement, and take breath on both sides, in order to come to blows again, and to fight with as much fury as ever.

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The French were every where beaten in Decan; and *Armiral-dilir-djung-bahadyr* (60) came down with his ships to attack Farash-danga, which is two or three cosses from H8gly, and close to Chichira, an Hollandish settlement and town. He was incited to this enterprize by *M8sher-terno* (61), who forgetting what he owed to his own nation, pointed out to him a particular passage, which the French had left open in the Bagrati, for their own ships to pass, in case of need; for they had spoiled the whole breadth of the river by sinking a number of vessels. The Armial Dilir-djung, under such a guide, advanced up with his ships of war, and took by force the French fortrefs: the French were vanquished, and they lost likewise the factory they had at the Cassimabazar. In this extremity, M8sher Las (Monsieur Law), who was a commander of character amongst them, assembled the few remains of his nation; and with these, and some cannon, and some musqueteers which he had disciplined, he marched to Moorshoodabad, where he took service with Seradj-ed-dó8lah. The English being informed of this, were provoked: and whether by the instigation of the discontented grandees, now become their confederates, or of their own motion, they represented to him by the means of their agent, that it was proper and convenient that the enemies and friends of the English, should be

(60) The *Courageous in Battles*, is the title by which Admiral Watson is known in Bengal, nor is Chundernagore known by any other name than that of *Farash-danga*, the French Point or Promontory.

(61) *Terrano*, a French officer, who, dissatisfied with Renaud, the governor of the fort, went over, not to the Admiral, but to the Colonel, to whom he became of some use.— This man who had some merit, having made money in the English service, sent a few years after, a supply to his father in France, promising to take care of him henceforward. The old man returned the money, with a letter, in which he protested against holding any correspondence with a traitor to his country; and the son, in despair at the style of the letter, hanged himself at his own door, with his own handkerchief. He was a tall, stout man, who having lost his right arm by a ball of cannon, had found means to write legibly with the left, and what is more, to write a pamphlet on Artillery, in good English. The officers at first would not admit him in their corps; but the Colonel remonstrated, and he observed, that his word was engaged to the man on that article, and that a failure on his part would preclude any further desertions.

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deemed the enemies and friends of Seradj-ed-dó8lah, in the same manner as his enemies and friends, were reputed the enemies and friends of the English; they insisted that it was obligatory on both sides, as being a special article in the late treaty. "Now, added they, "as we have beaten the French, and driven them away; and that "Prince has taken them under his protection, and he intends to keep "them in his service; such a conduct, being contrary to agreement, "may occasion a breach in the treaty, and give birth again to troubles "and dissensions." These representations of the English agent were supported by malecontents that wished Seradj-ed-dó8lah's downfall: they contended, "that to fall out with the English, for such a "parcel of run-aways, was very improper; and that he had better dismiss "those strangers." Seradj-ed-dó8lah, upon those representations, sent for M8sher Lafs, and had a long conference with him. "The latter observed that should that Prince chuse to give his protection to the "affairs of the French Company, for the sake of the French refugees, such a proceeding might be reputed an infraction of "this treaty: but that to entertain a few fugitives amongst the many "thousands of other nations in his service, could never be deemed a "breach of the articles." This answer pleased Seradj-ed-dó8lah, and he gave it to the English agents; but these, supported and instigated by his numerous enemies, repeated their former pretension, and made great instances: those enemies of his were equally artful and numerous; and under the cloak of zeal and attachment, they were perpetually ringing in his ears, that to "fall out with such foes as the English, for "the sake of an handful of wretched fugitives, was not a prudent proceeding; but rather such as might be productive of evil and repentance." Seradj-ed-dó8lah overcome by these repeated instances, advised M8sher Lafs to repair to Azim-abad; and he spoke much in order to bring him to his opinion. Lafs, on his departure, told the Navvab, that "most of his servants, ministers, and generals, either were disaf-

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Answer of
M8ther-Lafs,
the French
commander,
and his pre-
diction.

“ fected to his person, or had already entered into a correspondence with
 “ the English; and that it was out of disaffection to his person they
 “ were so desirous of seeing the French at a distance: that those same
 “ men after the departure of the French, would embroil him with the
 “ English, and thereby would find opportunities to advance their own
 “ affairs, and to ruin those of their master’s: but that so long as he, with
 “ his handful of French, would be in his service, no one would
 “ dare to lay his hands upon Seradj-ed-dó8lah, and none would
 “ serve him so well in a day of battle: that after giving him that
 “ piece of advice, he would leave him to his own choice in taking what
 “ resolution he might please.” This speech made an impression on Seradj-
 ed-dó8lah; but as he did not dare to keep him in his service, for fear of
 offending the English, he told him that at present it was fit that he should de-
 part; and that if there should happen any thing new, he would send for him
 again. “ *Send for me again?*” answered Lafs, “ *Rest assured, my Lord*
Navvab,” added he, “ *that this is the last time we shall see each other:*
remember my words: we shall never meet again: it is nearly impossible.”
 After saying these few words, he departed for Azim-abad; and this depar-
 ture seemed to serve as a signal for the parties to exert themselves: for now
 the dissensions between Seradj-ed-dó8lah and his two principal generals
 rose to so great a height, that these two commanders confederated with the
 Djagat-seats, and the other disaffected grandees; and all these joined to-
 gether in the scheme of oversetting Seradj-ed-dó8lah, whose character of
 ferocity and thoughtlessness kept them in continual alarms, and whose
 fickleness of temper made them tremble. It was in those conjunctures
 that an ancient enemy of his, appeared again upon the stage of the world.
 This was Bibi Gahafity-begum: a princess that had a rooted aversion
 to him, and whose heart was ulcerated by his having turned her out
 of her property and home: She now leagued herself secretly with Mir-
 djaafer-qhan, and gave him much assistance, by making interest in his be-
 half with every one whom she thought to have conserved some attach-
 ment to her concerns. To these she presented, by the means of
 “ trusty

" trusty advocates, a long list of the wrongs she had endured; to these
 " she sent secret messages, to claim at their hands all the rights
 " which Aaly-verdy-qhan's daughter, and Nevazish-mahmed-qhan's
 " consort, must have acquired over their gratitude: she recalled to
 " their minds all the favors they had received from her family, recapitulated the violences she had suffered, and exhorted them to join Mir-djaafer-qhan and Radja Dollob-ram." And as in the moment that preceded the capture of Moti-djill, she had contrived to secret some gold, by the means of some trusty old women and eunuchs, she now took care to distribute it adroitly; and she even sent some to Mir-djaafer-qhan. This general on his side distributed his money wherever he thought it would be effectual; and he exerted himself so well in taking in his pay every disbanded soldier, and every hungry adventurer he heard of, that he soon assembled secretly in his house and in his quarter a very respectable force. Affairs being now come to that point; and every one of the grandees tending to one common center in view, which was to remove Seradj-ed-dó8lah; every one pointed his efforts that way; every one, firmly persuaded that the concurrence of the English was a necessary piece to the completion of his wishes, was exhorting them to break with that Prince. Djagat-feat was one of the foremost of them, and he had also the best opportunities: by the means of his mercantile agent Emin-chund, one of the principal bankers of Calcutta, he was perpetually exciting the English to a rupture. Radja-dó8lah-ram likewise had his agent there on the same errand; and Mir-djaafer-qhan sent thither his friend and confident, that same Mirza-emir-beg, whom we have already mentioned as a generous man, who had carried untouched to the English fugitives some ladies of their's: an action by which he had ingratiated himself in their minds. By his means he represented to the English " the wrongs he had suffered, the injuries offered to all the grandees, and the resolution they had unanimously taken to rid themselves of Seradj-ed-dó8lah." His agent went so far as to shew the very paper, signed by all the malecontents,

tents, by which they promised to stand by him against Seradj-ed-dó8lah: " he then added these words: " Do you, gentlemen, but put yourselves in " motion, and come to some skirmish with Seradj-ed-dó8lah; and we " engage, after that, to do his business amongst ourselves effectually: by a " small motion of your's, you shall put it in our power to rid ourselves " and the world of the oppressions and violences of the tyrant." After such a confidence, he promised to pay them three corors of rupees for their interference, and engaged his master's faith for some other concessions which were stipulated, but of which I have no particular information. These conditions were sworn to, and bankers engaged themselves as sureties for the money. This promise was followed by a list of the injuries and oppressions that had been offered to Biby-gahafity, and to the others. These instigations could not but make their effect upon the English. This nation, which has not it's equal in prowess, and courage, and strength of mind, but which is as covetous as any other; (and indeed where is the man, who in the pride of conscious power and victory, has not an avidity for conquests, especially if the means be ready, and already provided at his hand?) the English, I say, on being informed of the state of things at Moorshoodabad, held a great council, the result of which was " that the proposals and offers of Mir-djaaser-qhan and Radja-d8l8b-ram " ought to be accepted, and that preparations ought immediately to be made " for declaring war." But as it is not customary with this nation, nor indeed with any man of sense, to break with any one, without a sufficient subject, it is probable that in their negotiations with Seradj-ed-dó8lah, they had found some grave subject that might warrant a rupture: of this indeed I could get no information; but probably they found it in the dilatoriness and neglect of the payment of the sum of money stipulated for the plunder made in Calcutta; and to all appearance that Prince himself found it hard to part with such a sum as one coror of rupees, for a promise made only in a moment of necessity. Be it as it may, the resolution for war having been taken at Calcutta, Colonel Clive, better known under the title of Sabut-djung, prepared

pared to march with the troops and necessaries which he had at hand. This intelligence struck Seradj-ed-dó8lah: sensible now that he had no other resource but that of regaining the hearts of his enemies, he at once made his appearance at the wicket of dissimulation and at the gate of caresses; but he advanced nothing by that step: for, as says the Poet:

“ After having suffered your oppressions for a whole year, and seen you tear my liver out of my body,

“ Do you expect that I am to forget all those wrongs for a little fawning you have now set up?”

THE Prince at the same time sent part of his forces to Palassy, under the command of Radja-doll8b-ram, with orders to prepare an intrenched camp, and every thing necessary for defence and war. That commander repaired thither, and in appearance, seemed busy in executing the orders he had received; but in fact he was only intent upon his own business; for he not only entered into a private agreement with the English, but added some articles to their treaty with Mir-djaafer-qhan, whilst at the same time he was daily gaining to his party some officers amongst the troops he commanded, under promise of doing for them something according to their own wishes. The same management was likewise practised in town by Mir-djaafer-qhan, who now commenced to appear at Court, but always well accompanied. The defection became now so general, that it is credibly reported that by this time few men remained in their hearts attached to Seradj-ed-dó8lah: all the rest having been gained over by these two commanders. The report being now spread that Colonel Clive had moved from Calcutta at the head of an army, this intelligence engaged that Prince to draw from his ears that cotton of sloth and neglect with which he had stuffed them. With visible reluctance of mind, and a heart big with grief and despondence, he quitted his palace of Mans8r-gundj, and marched with those troops in which he reposed a confidence, that is, those belonging to Mir-meden, and to Radja-mohon-lal, and a few others, with which he arrived at Palassy.

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On the opposite side, Colonel Clive, with the troops of his own nation and some bodies of Talingas, (the whole of his army not amounting to more than two or three thousand men), took post in the grove of Palassy (62), where he shewed himself in battle array: it was on a Thursday, A. D. 1757. the fifth of Shevval, in the year 1170: and there the fire of battle and slaughter, that had been hitherto kept alive under a heap of embers, now blazed out into flames. But as the nation of Hat-wearers have no equals in the art of firing their artillery and musquetry with both order and rapidity, there commenced such an incessant rain of balls and bullets, and such a hot endless firing, that the spectators themselves were amazed and confounded; and those in the battle had their hearing deafened by the continual thunder, and their eye-sight dimed by the endless flashing of the execution. All this while Mir-djaaser-qhan, the author of all these evils and troubles, contented himself with standing at a distance with the troops under his command, exactly like one who had come only to see the engagement, although his sole aim was to effect Seradj-ed-dó8lah's downfall. But this was not the case with Mir-meden, and a few others, who were in earnest, and wished to gain the victory; these were in despair on seeing that inaction. The cannon-balls meanwhile fell so thick amongst them, that this officer did not dare to come to a close engagement; but yet he advanced little by little in good order and with a good countenance, till at last he and Mohon-lal arrived near the grove of Palassy, from whence the English made so violent a fire: It was at about three o'clock in the afternoon. It is reported that the Colonel, at sight of this, severely reprimanded some agent, who was then near his person, and said, "that his master
 " had promised and pledged himself, that the troops, as well as the com-
 " manders, were totally alienated from Seradj-ed-dó8lah; and that as soon
 " as some engagement should take place, they would do his business

(62) These woods are all regularly planted, and kept clean; for most of the fruit-trees in India are tall trees. These groves are exceedingly common all over that country: that of Palassy in particular may have been two miles in circuit; it is a square; but now it is greatly neglected and diminished.

“ effectually. *As much as I can see*, added the Colonel, *the very reverse of all that is taking place*. The agent answered, that “ those that were “ now pressing upon him, were those corps that were attached to Seradj-
 “ ed-döslah; and that whenever these should be vanquished, the Colo-
 “ nel would not fail to see tokens of what he (the agent) had promised. And in reality the day of retribution was now come; for Seradj-ed-döslah and his fortune had now become liable to the laws of retaliation. That valorous Mir-medden, who now behaved so well in the engagement, and who to his heroical valour joined sentiments of attachment and zeal, was overset by a cannon-ball, whilst he was advancing and encouraging his men: this ball, as if sent by an express to exact a tribute upon his existence, carried away one of his thighs, and in appearance left him for dead: he was already winging his flight into eternity, when they brought him in that condition to his Prince; to whom the dying warrior having had just time to say a few words concerning his zeal and the dispositions he had made for the engagement, soon surrendered his soul to his Maker. Such a spectacle struck Seradj-ed-döslah: he was troubled and confounded, and seemed to have lost his presence of mind: he sent for Mir-djaaser-qhan, and patiently waited till the other should be pleased to come. But that general having shewn a disinclination from such an interview, repeated messages and pressing solicitations became necessary to put him in motion: at last he came, accompanied by his son Miren, alias Mir-mahmed-sadye-qhan, by Qhadem-hassen-qhan, and by a numerous body of his friends and followers, well armed. Seradj-ed-döslah spoke to him in the humblest strain, and at last descended to the lowest supplications; he even took his turban from off his head, (at least this was the report) and placed it before the General; to whom he addressed these very words; *I now repent of what I have done; and availing myself of those ties of consanguinity which subsist between us, as well as of those rights which my grandfather, Aaly-verdy-qhan, has doubtless acquired upon your gratitude, I look up to you, as to the only representative of that venerable personage; and hope therefore, that, forgetting my past trespasses, you*
 shall

dó8lah, on this answer, turned towards Mir-djaafer-qhan, and the latter coldly answered, " That the advice he had proposed was the best in his power; " and that as to the rest, his Highness was the master of taking his own " resolutions." Seradj-ed-dó8lah intimidated by his General's coldness, and overcome by his own fears and apprehensions, renounced his own natural sense, and submitted to Mir-djaafer-qhan's pleasure; he sent repeated orders, with pressing messages, to Mohon-lal; who at last obeyed, and retreated from the post to which he had advanced.

V E R S E S.

" When the times become dark, and unprosperous for a man,

" He never fails to do precisely what he ought not to have done."

This retreat of Mohon-lal's made a full impression on his troops: the sight of their General's retreat damped their courage; and having at the same time spied some parties which were flying (for they were of the com-plot), they disbanded likewise, and fled, every one taking example from his neighbour; and as the flight now had lost all its shame, whole bodies fled although no one pursued; and in a little time the camp remained totally empty. Seradj-ed-dó8lah informed of the desertion of his troops, was amazed; and fearing not only the English he had in his front, but chiefly the domestic enemies he had about his person, he lost all firmness of mind: confounded by that general abandonment, he joined the run-aways himself; and after marching the whole night, he the next day at about eight in the morning arrived at his palace in the city. He had ordered that his principal commanders should attend with their troops for the safety of his person, until he might take breath, and resolve on what he was to do next; but none attended to what he said, and every one, without ceremony, went to his own home: even Mirza-iredj-qhan, his father-in-law, did the same. In vain did the Prince lay his turban at his feet, and intreat him for God's sake to remain with him, and to assemble some troops about his palace, that he might stay with safety, if staying should become proper; or depart with some decency, should flight become necessary; he would not hear, and he also quitted him under a variety of pretences, and went to his house. Seradj-ed-dó8lah abandoned

Seradj-ed-dó8-
lah betrayed and
defeated at Pa-
laffy.

and as many as jewels as they could contain, and taking with him a number of elephants with his best baggage and furniture, he quitted his palace about three in the morning, and fled; it was the seventh of Shevval. By one of those fatalities so conspicuous in the fate of persons of high stations, and which proceeded from his own ignorance of the world, and the unsteadiness of his temper, instead of taking to the left hand, and going to Radjmahl, as he had determined at first, he struck to the right, and went to Bagvangolah, where he immediately embarked on a number of boats which are at all times kept ready in that station. But if instead of taking that fatal resolution, he had continued his journey by land, as it had been his intention, and had sent notice to some commanders of his, who had not yet joined the malecontents, it is past doubt that numbers of them would have followed him, through personal attachment, and many more by a principle of avarice and ambition: in a few hours time he would have been joined by some thousands: and people seeing him so well accompanied would have not dared to oppose his journey. It is even probable that his retinue would have swelled at every stage, and that he would have found himself at last at the head of a respectable force. But what man has had it in his power to withstand his own destiny? and how is it possible to parry the decrees of an impending fate? Seradj-ed-dó8lah, now in his boats, was advancing on his way to Azim-abad: for on the first motions of the English from Calcutta he had wrote a pressing letter to M8shur Lás to recommend his coming down immediately, without losing a moment. Unfortunately, instead of a bill of exchange, he had sent him an order upon the treasury, of the province of Azim-abad: and as slowness of motion seems to be of etiquette with the people of Hindostan, the disbursing of this money took up so much time, that when Lás was come down, as far as Radjemahal he found that all was over, and that Seradj-ed-dó8-lah was no more; his person having already been seized by Mir-djaafer-qhan's people, who had compleated their revenge upon him. M8shur Lás being arrived at Radjmahal, soon heard of the catastrophe, and he re-
turned

ed at with the finger, and of becoming objects of chastisement and oppression. Mir Djafer-qhan, in the full possession of sovereign power, beat loud the drum of dominion and command; and in conjunction with Radj-d8llob-ram, whom he made his first minister, and the center of all transactions, he applied himself to the business of quieting the minds of the people: but his first care was to take possession of Seradj-ed-d8lah's treasures (64), and to divide them with the English, according to the terms

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(64) As we have been ourselves, in the very next year, in the Company's service, as Linguists to Colonel Clive, in whose camp we were, we remember to have heard from the mouth of Mr. John Walth, who was Commissary in that army, that himself went into that treasury, with Mr. Wats, Mr. Lushington, Ram-chund, the writer or Divan, and Labekishun, the Moonshy or Persian Secretary, and found it to contain one hundred and seventy-six lacs in silver, two and thirty lacks in gold, two chests of gold ingots, four of jewels set, and two lesser ones of loose stones and gems: but what is singular, and yet true, this was only the outer treasury: and those renowned English, who look down with contempt on the intellects and abilities of the Bengalees, and yet are perpetually bubbled and duped by them, did not know any thing of the inner treasury, said to contain eight corors, and which, pursuant to a custom well known in India, and which is ordinary even to private men, was kept in the Zenana, or women's apartments. This inner treasury was made away with between Mir-djafer, Emir-beg-qhan, Ram-chund, and Labekishun, whose silence was purchased by a share in the contents, or who, it was said, made away with the Colonel's share. This much is certain, that ten years after, Ram-chund, who in 1758 was only a writer at sixty rupees per month, died worth seventy-two lacs in cash and bills; four hundred large water-pots, eighty of which were of gold and the rest of silver: eighteen lacs in landed property, and twenty lacs of jewels; in all a coror and a quarter. All this immense property, which then became notorious, and which Mr. Barwell rated at only eighty lacs, could not have been made under Vansittart, whose Divan he became; for Vansittart himself, who had brought a lac of property into Bengal, and left it with no more than nine (a sum which his very salary and commission could have easily made up), was far from being worth one-tenth of the property of his Divan, although both that Governor and Hastings were so much cried down at that time for having sold Bengal to Mir-cassem-qhan for twenty-two lacs: an assertion, proved to be an atrocious calumny, when Vnnstittart, after a four years administration, set out for England with less than ten lacs; and Hastings, his associate, proved to be so poor, that having in vain applied to his Divan (Cant8) for a supply of twelve thousand rupees, for present subsistence in England, he was at last obliged to receive that assistance from Aga Bedrofs (Coja Petruce), but without being able to repay it sooner than ten years after, when Hastings came second to Madras). If then these two omnipotent men made no money by a four years administration, and by a revolution which put every thing

hour, with intention only to dress up some kichri (65) for himself and for his daughter, as well as for his women, not one of whom had tasted food for three days and nights. It happened that a Fakir resided in that neighbourhood: this man, whom probably he had either disoblged or oppressed in the days of his full power, rejoiced at this fair opportunity of glutting his resentment, and of enjoying a revenge: he expressed a pleasure at his arrival; and taking a busy part in preparing some victuals for him, he meanwhile sent an express over the water, to give information to the Prince's enemies, who were actually rummaging heaven and earth, to find him out. Immediately on this advice of Shah-dana's (for such was that man's name), Mir-cassim and Mir-dasid crossed the water, and having got him surrounded with their armed men, they had the pleasure of becoming master's of his person, as well as of his family and jewels.

V E R S E S.

" Be this my advice to thee, if thou wilt but hear me;

" *If thou hast planted thorns, thou canst not expect to reap jonquills.*"

Seradj-ed-dó8lah, sensible that the day of retribution and retaliation had overtaken him, descended to the lowest supplications; but they only served to render him an object of taunt and reproach to a set of men, to whom, but a few days before, he might have disdained to speak: every one of them he intreated to obtain a pension for him, and a corner of ground, where he might live forgotten; but no one heard him. Every one was only intent on the opportunity now before him. Mir-cassim-qhan, who had got L8tf-neffa in his power, engaged her, partly by threats, and partly by promises, to disclose where was her casket of jewels; and this casket, the value of which could not be computed but by lacs, fell in his

(65) *Kichri*, is a mess of pulse and rice boiled together, but so, however, as that all the grains should remain asunder. It is the usual food of the poorest people in rice-countries, although there is a way of rendering it acceptable to great folks, by frying it in butter first, and then boiling the same with spices, &c. The Fakir at first did not mind the Prince, as not suspecting him to be any thing but one of those many travellers that daily pass that way; but on casting his eyes on the very rich slippers of his guest, he put questions to the boat-men, who soon gave him full information.

hands

his gold and silver, and had made them mighty promises besides, did not care to avail themselves of the opportunity: so that the men of lesser note, intimidated by the inaction of their superiors, repressed their own ardour.

We have said, that Mir-djafer-qhan had taken possession of the palace of Mans8r-gunj: he now fixed his residence in it, as being the abode of sovereignty, and he resigned his own house in Djafer-gundj to his son Miren: a young man, born to him from Shah-qhanum, half-sister to Aaly-verdy-qhan, who had taken her in his family after her father's decease. This son of his was not only equal to his father, but he went beyond him by some degrees in every thing, whether we consider his manners and dress (*b*), or his riveted inclination to oppress and torment people: he was also still more expeditious and quick minded in slaughtering people, and in committing murders: having a peculiar knack at such matters, and looking upon every infamous or atrocious deed as an act of prudence and foresight. His system was, that such sensations, as pity and compassion, answered no other purpose but that of spoiling business. With such an heroical character as this, he esteemed himself a man of mighty wisdom and prowess, above all men; and, with such a blessed stock in hand, as the murders and other abominable actions he was committing every day without the least scruple, he thought his performances equal to all the achievements of Ali-verdi-qhan himself: a prince to whom he was fond of comparing himself. Such was the man, who first heard of Seradj-ed-dó8lah's arrival; for his father was then fast asleep at noon day. He immediately ordered him into confinement, near his own apartment, and

Abominable
character of Mi-
ren, son to the
New Navvab

(*b*) There is so little difference between the Hindostany dress of man and woman, that save the turban (which by the bye is worn by virgins of the Royal blood and by others), it requires the eye of skill and experience to state that difference: and this consists in general in the *chola*, or close coat, which is much higher with women, than with men: in the *daman*, or petticoat tacked to it, which is four times ampler in a woman than in a man; and lastly, in the lining of the hem, which is always in white with men, but of the most gaudy silks with women, and these too adorned with lace. Miren dressed like a woman, and moreover spoke like a woman; that is, upon an emergency he made use of those feminine expressions mentioned in a Note of the 7th Section.

this valley of miseries, by wading through his own blood: his body was hacked to pieces, by strokes without number; and the mangled carcase being thrown across the back of an elephant, was carried throughout the most frequented parts of the city, by way of notifying the accession of the new sovereign's: but what is singular, and yet is universally attested, the elephant-driver having for some particular business of his own, stopped for a moment, it chanced to be precisely at Hosséin-c8li-qhan's door, where some drops of blood were seen to drop from the mangled body, and they fell on the very spot where that nobleman had been murdered but two years before.

" See, and take warning, ye that have eyes,

" It was in this manner the wind shifted, and the face of things changed.

" O world, fickle and fragile! O world, incapable of stability!—

" Do not set your heart, my friend, upon such a world: it is like a stranger,

" Like a dancer, that goes every day from house to house. (*)

" What for to fall in love with a fair one,

" Who shifts her husband every morning?

" And indeed to a wise man the world is but like a beauty,

" Who constantly roves from one to another.

" Acquire and bring together all Caron's wealth,

" You shall carry no more with you, than what you have enjoyed, or bestowed.—

" Do good to day, since the field is your's, and you have the power of it;

" Make haste: for the next year, the field will pass to another tenant."

SERADJ-ED-DÓ8LAH's mangled body having been carried through so many streets, was passing by his mother's gate, who being a Princess accustomed to live immured, knew nothing of the revolution; and she only inquired what was the cause of the confused noise and cries she heard to-day without her walls. On being informed of the matter, the unfortunate Princess, unable to contain herself, forgot at once her sex, veil and slippers, and running out of the house, like one distracted, she threw herself on the body, which she covered with her kisses, and sate disconsolate, striking repeatedly her face and breasts. This spectacle greatly affected the by-standers: but Qhadum-hassen-qhan, who had just got upon the terrace of his house, to feast his eyes with the sight of the mangled carcase of his master and benefactor's son, no sooner perceived the effect it made on

Affecting narrative.

(*) Dance-women, although not professed prostitutes, are however reputed such.

ERRATA OF THE SECOND PART OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Page Line

345 26 wrote to Nizam-el-mulk; who *read* wrote
to Nizam-el-mulk, who
345 27 and he asked, — and asked
346 28 Some decayed Cat or Catchoo — Some
sliced Catt or Catch8
349 7 and in enjoying their revenues, — and of
enjoying their revenues
350 2 benificent — beneficent
350 17 and also to pay him a Visit, — and also have
payed him a Visit.
351 28 inforcer; — enforcer.
352 18 Payed little difference his new master, —
Payed little defference to his new master
353 1 stated prayers, he fasted, — stated prayers:
he fasted
353 13 hadji-L8tf-L8ah, — hadji. L8tf-8ilah
353 21 the feat of the Divanship, — the seal of
the Divanship.
353 31 C8tni, — C8tni
354 9 the Viceroy's inconsistency is, — the Viceroy's
inconsistency of mind is
354 24 Ehram which after all is a winding sheet, —
Ehram which after all is a winding Sheet
357 3 on whose hand I must trust, — to whose
hands I must trust.
357 3 whethersoever, — whithersoever
358 10 distined, — Destined.
364 18 Sir Efraz; qhan, — Ser-efraz-qhan
375 30 Left at his left, — Kept at his left
376 13 The envoys's talent, — the envoy's talents
376 13 abilities and was dismissed, — abilities, and
was dismissed
376 21 So well, as that the treaty, — so well, that
the treaty
377 27 Afters, — Stars
378 21 tranquilised, — tranquillised
379 25 Degarnished, — unfurnished
380 22 by his very attack, this wing, — by his
very attack. This wing
383 19 from so signal, — for so signal
385 5 NEVASISH-MAHMED-QHAN, — NEVAZISH-
MAHMED-QHAN
386 7 whilst such an important, — carry that
line lower, and make it a new chapter of it.
390 5 this manage, — this manege
the Capola of heaven, — the Cupola of hea-
ven
390 20 to have, — to have had
394 5 upon him, — upon him.
394 24 getting service, as they might, — getting
service; as they might
395 24 large artillery, his Camp, — large artille-
ry: his Camp
396 27 white Coach, — white Coach:
396 29 Service and to that part, — Service; and
to that part
397 6 and wounded, — and wounding

Page Line

397 21 and even by the sense of, *read* and even by
the sense of
398 4 a Sight of him, and, — a Sight of him; and
399 15 that had wondered sobed in the dreary desert
of absence, and the wilderness of separation
quenched, — that had wandered in the
dreary desert of absence, and sobed in the
wilderness of separation, now quenched
405 28 every heart, and although, — every heart;
and although
436 5 his attention, this Radja, — his attention:
this Radja
406 20 ali-verdi-qhan, this Prince, — Alli-verdi-
qhan. This Prince
408 2 of the Revenues: An odious yoke, — of
the Revenues: an odious yoke
410 7 to Signilife, — to Signalife
410 10 on the enemy, when the day, — on the
enemy; when the day
414 15 out of about three hundred five thousand
horse, — out of about three thousand five
hundred horse
416 19 ready at your hand: ready at your hands
with-Seradj-ed-dö8la, — with-Seradj-ed-
dö8la
418 1 forty Sabres, should come, — forty sabres
should come
422 2 Shocked and angry of their not coming near-
Shockd and angry at their cautious back-
wardness
— 3 His head-quarters: — His head-quarters.
428 6 and sometimes H8gli, — and sometimes at
H8gli
428 22 the Deputy-governor of the 8ressa; — the
Deputy governor of the 8ressa:
429 5 Ramp8r-bo8li, — Ramp8r-bö8lia,
432 4 Country quiet and that, — Country quiet;
and that
432 5 at ease, and as he was, — at ease, and as he
was
432 14 of theirs arrears. But obtained, — of their
arrears; but obtained
440 12 their laguers — their laggars
441 9 Set out to his return, — Set out on his re-
turn
441 22 Let me Siramper — Let me Scamper
442 12 Proclaimed that of the Important, — was
proclaimed the Important
442 20 Shevval 1155, add in the margin A. D. 1741-
41
442 29 It was at such a conjuncture that those whom
the prosperity, found means throw &c. —
It was at such a conjuncture that those whom
the prosperity of our family, had rendered
jealous, found means to throw
446 19 Bakyr-poor — Baky-poor
450 14 Séyd-aalim-ollah, Febateba, — Séyd-aalim
ollah-Tebateba

ERRATA OF THE SECOND PART OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Page Line

- 519 15 and even preferred, to me *read* and even preferred to, me.
 520 11 at his right Ata-ollah-qhan, — at his right was Ata-ollah-qhan
 522 15 in her own name to — in her own name, to
 522 18 B8rhamper. — B8rhanpor
 523 14 enemis horfes — the enemy's horfe
 528 9 fodjary — fodjdary
 531 4 Sredj-qhan — Iredj-qhan
 531 7 with Azem-Shah — with Aazem-Shah
 531 19 Sredj-qhan — Iredj-qhan
 532 10 Ata-ollah-qhan — Mirza-Iredj-qhan
 543 11 troops be made — troops made
 543 19 Azimai — Azimái
 543 25 A. D. 1749 — as D. 1747
 557 18 for an engagement — for an engagement,
 562 2 an D. 1749. — A. D. 1747.
 571 12 and the Engagement becoming — the Engagement becoming
 572 28 Brought the Viceroy's quarters — Brought to the Viceroy's quarters
 580 28 influence — Sway
 583 36 was not bestowed — was bestowed
 7 13 Intripede — intrepide
 588 26 his country and fortune, a prey to — his Country and fortune, as well as a prey to
 590 10 nuzeer — nezer
 590 10 at the same time; — at the same time
 591 10 which belonging — which belongs
 592 2 nazims — nazems
 592 4 to P8raniah his Capital — to P8raniah, his Capital:
 593 13 Coffey — Coffey
 595 3 after defeat of — after the defeat of
 597 16 munineers — mutineers
 599 28 blazad — blazed
 605 25 So many men had — So many men that had
 610 15 Shah Djehan-abad — Djehan-abad
 617 21 than him — than he
 618 17 a writer nevertheless — a writer, nevertheless
 62 3 — *write at the margin* A. D. 1754-55
 622 22 Djma — Djama
 630 25 never suffered — never suffer
 631 21 in the sequel and — In the sequel, and
 632 9 with the head — at the head
 632 9 numerous body and — numerous body, and
 636 14 Amed-qhan — Ahmed-qhan
 637 23 an immense but glance — an immense ballance
 639 11 Cloths — Clothes
 640 17 Ramnaran — Ram-narain
 648 17 write at the margin — A. D. 1754-55
 650 10 Ecrum-ed-dolah — Ecrum-ed-d8lah
 651 14 *write at the margin* — A. D. 1754-55
 652 21 Smoaking — Smoking

Page Line

- 653 12 Benificence *read* beneficence
 653 22 Nediah; and as — Nediah. And as
 653 26 Ecrum-ed-d8lahs, — Ecrum-ed-d8lah's
 654 17 Losing patience on the subjects — Losing patience at once
 654 23 Blessed man. I fee — blessed man: I see
 662 8 Mir-mah8b-aaly — Mir-mahb8b-aaly
 662 14 of Subjects: after — of Subjects. After
 663 16 Nephew — Nephew
 21 But the people of P8raniah — But people of P8raniah
 667 12 of no avail: he was — of no avail. He was
 668 22 Achant-Ray — Achant-Ráy
 673 9 torne by the pangs — torne by the thorns
 679 15 converse and cherish — Preserve and cherish
 687 27 Hedjra or Hermaphrodite — Hedjrahs or Hermaphrodites
 695 3 the Mehadian, — the Mehadian:
 698 21 mortification — morifications
 699 24 this most in considerable — the most in considerable
 700 5 Elder Son to grand Son — Elder Son to the grand Son
 702 5 the only man — the holy man
 17 to account — to an account
 21 firmity — firmness
 702 22 Serad-ed-d8lahs — Seradj-ed d8lah's
 30 for distinchors Sake — for distinction's sake
 33 bulls or Cow — Bulls, or a Cow
 705 18 Mahomed — Mohammed
 706 23 fundamentals — foundations
 708 13 Sun as, a new thing — Sun, as a thing
 711 12 Perenial — Perennial
 719 4 Indeclared war — In a declared war
 719 9 So faithfully and bravely — So faithfully and so bravely
 722 26 as us — as we
 723 19 as all other faithfulls — as all the other faithful
 730 28 foremost in exacting — foremost in exciting
 737 25 Misintelligence — Mesintelligence
 738 12 he resolved — had resolved
 742 6 Car-guzer-qhan — Car-guzar-qhan
 746 23 Incamped — encamped
 751 7 and live in it in retirement — and live in retirement
 754 9 had now assembled — had assembled
 755 4 King Inghilter — King of Inghilter
 755 19 by every means which — by every means which
 756 8 and to reestablishing — and for reestablishing
 756 31 water, Calapani — water, than *Gala Pani*
 765 25 Confident — Confidant
 777 34 In a note of the 7 Section — In the note of this Section.

701 Variation to paid to European missionaries as fakes

1 Let 5th
511 Let. 6
579 Let. 7
693 Let. 8

Ġulām H̱usain ̱Hān XD6Tabāṯabā̱ / Lassen, Christian / Brockhaus, Hermann

A translation of the S̱ir Mutaqharin or, view of modern teims, being an
history of India, from the year 1118 to the year 1195 (this year answers
to the christian year 1781 - 1782) of the Hidjrah ...

Bd.: 1,2

Calcutta (1789)

4 A.or. 2208-1,2

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